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ABSTRACT

Differences in perceptions and values between Americans and Iranians are described with reference to the following cultural categories: country images, self images, family, marriage, love and sex, friendship, society, government and politics, and freedom. Within each category, comparisons are based on an analysis of the differing cultural connotations of specific English words and their closest Farsi equivalent. For example, words discussed under "friendship" include friends, enemy, trust, fidelity, brotherhood, help, respect, and honesty. To highlight American-Iranian similarities and differences, in addition to prose narratives, the salient components of perceptions are shown in comparative graphical presentations. General trends reflecting important motivational priorities and culturally characteristic value orientations are further discussed in each chapter summary. The summaries focus on differential psychocultural dispositions that can affect interpersonal relations, rapport, and effective communication between Americans and Iranians. The rationale and use of the lexicon are discussed at length. (Author/JB)

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IRANIAN AND AMERICAN PERCEPTIONS AND CULTURAL FRAMES OF REFERENCE

A COMMUNICATION LEXICON FOR CULTURAL UNDERSTANDING

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ABSTRACT

Good rapport and successful communication depends on understanding people, knowing their concerns, and recognizing their subjective perceptions and meanings. These insights are of special importance in intercultural communication when people of different backgrounds try to reach a mutual understanding.

The information presented here was obtained through an inferential research technique which has been described as a methodological breakthrough. It is based on an indepth comparative analysis of the distribution of thousands of spontaneous reactions produced by the U.S. and Iranian student groups in their native languages in free association tasks. The Iranian students were tested in Tehran in the year preceding the overthrow of the Shah's government. The results clearly show the intensity of their feelings and the depth of their alienation. Of general future relevance the findings offer insights into the contemporary way of thinking involving perceptions and attitudes on timely issues like revolution and socialism, on personal and national self images, on the images of the United States and the Soviet Union, on nationalism and communism, and numerous other subjects which play a prominent role in future developments.

To highlight American-Iranian similarities and differences, the salient components of their perceptions are shown in comparative graphical presentations. General trends reflecting important motivational priorities and culturally characteristic value orientations are further discussed in each chapter summary. The summaries focus on differential psychocultural dispositions which can affect interpersonal relations, rapport, and effective communication between Americans and Iranians.

The semantic organization provides for easy retrieval of extensive cultural information. It was designed to serve both Americans and Iranians who want to understand and communicate effectively with each other. Potential users range from tourists and laymen to specialized experts and professionals in such diverse fields as education, language and area training, social sciences, social services, communication, business, marketing, foreign aid, and international relations. The study was sponsored by the U.S. Office of Education's Division of International Education.

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country, nation, Iran, United States,
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INTRODUCTION

The U.S.-Iranian communication lexicon is the latest product of a continuing series of cross-cultural studies of how other culture groups compare to Americans in their perceptions, meanings, views, and ways of thinking on selected topics of general interest, such as family, friends, society, government. The purpose is to improve communication skills through better understanding of those who are culturally different from ourselves.

What May Be Lost in Translation Can Be Found in the Culture

Americans living in a land of cultural diversity and in a world of increasing interdependence have begun to place a greater value on communication, both interpersonal and international. In intercultural situations, language is the most obvious obstacle but the culture in which the language is imbedded is an equally important though invisible barrier to successful communication.

Anyone who has attempted to communicate in a second language has had the uneasy feeling that his translation, no matter how precise, did not convey the meaning intended. Yet there are many more instances when neither party realizes that what was said was interpreted by the other in a different way. When people do not share common backgrounds, experiences, beliefs, and thought patterns, the likelihood of misunderstandings greatly increases. This is the case when people from different cultures meet.

In discussing politics with Iranians, for instance, it is important for an American to realize that politics has a higher priority in the minds of Iranians and that the aspects they emphasize are different from those that Americans consider most important to the meaning of politics. Iranians show more concern with ideological issues and with leadership qualities, while Americans stress the practical procedural aspects of voting, campaigning, etc. These differential

priorities could easily have a serious impact on the effectiveness of communications regarding politics between Americans and Iranians.

The point is that to communicate effectively with others it is important to know where their priorities lie, to learn how they view and evaluate those areas, and to relate one's own ideas in terms of the other's interests. In other words, one has to learn to focus on those elements which are most meaningful and salient to the other person.

Establishing a common ground on the basis of language is only a first step toward intercultural communication. The culturally molded views and meanings behind the words must be considered in order to assure mutual understanding. Communication experts have long recognized this problem but have seen few practical ways of dealing with it since people's subjective meanings and perceptions are not open to direct empirical assessment. Information on the culturally shared perceptions, attitudes, priorities, and frames of reference characteristic of foreign groups is scarce. What does exist is often biased and superficial and has added little to a deeper cultural understanding.

One research technique which has produced some promising results over the last fifteen years is the Associative Group Analysis method. This indirect, inferential technique, which has been characterized as a methodological breakthrough, has been tested for reliability and validity and used in a broad variety of applications. It has provided the supportive data for this U.S.-Iranian lexicon of cultural meanings and is described in detail in Appendix II.

Comparative Analysis of Culturally Shared Perceptions and Meanings

The central assumption behind the AGA method is that word associations produced to specific themes selected as stimuli represent spontaneous expressions of people's views, attitudes, and ways of thinking. Extensive word associations are elicited from members of

selected culture groups, and a content analysis of each group's responses is performed in order to reconstruct their image or understanding of a particular concept in terms of its salient perceptual and affective components. The content analysis is performed by judges who organize the many responses into semantically related clusters. As with any attempt at data reduction and summarization, this process involves some risk of distortion through subjective judgment and selectivity, but the analytic procedures include several checks to minimize this potential source of error.

The results of the content analyses are compared to determine cultural similarities and differences between groups. Other analytic measures show how groups compare in their cultural priorities, in their overall understanding of specific concepts like family, health, or love, and in their attitudes and values related to these concepts.

The AGA method allows one to make systematic comparisons of how various cultural groups view aspects of the world around them, how they understand and evaluate contemporary ideas and events. Without directly asking people about their views or feelings, the method reveals perceptual and attitudinal dispositions of which the people themselves are frequently unaware. These features turned out to be important advantages in gaining access to the Iranian students in Tehran.

Selecting Culturally Representative American and Iranian Groups

Conventional public opinion and attitude research usually focus on single isolated variables and draw from precise representative samples. The sampling requirements for a comparative study of cultural meanings and frames of reference are different. The study of subjective cultures focuses on the relationship and patterns of several variables and requires cultural representativeness. This means using sample groups which have comparable sociodemographic characteristics and which are generally representative of the various cultures under study.

There are obviously many variations among the people within each culture which we could not do justice to by a few samples. However, our previous comparative studies of Blacks, Whites, and Spanish Americans in the U.S., which included various socioeconomic levels (high, middle, and low income) as well as various demographic categories (age, sex, education level), showed that differences between cultures were of a substantially higher order of magnitude than intrasocietal differences within a culture.* It is because of those findings that we have confidence in our present strategy of focusing on the more general cultural differences between Americans and Iranians as a first step toward intercultural understanding.

Because of their articulateness and relatively easy accessibility, we have used university student samples. The American students were drawn from universities in the Washington, D. C. area, and the Iranian students from universities in Tehran in December 1977. Each sample was composed of fifty undergraduate students from various fields of study and included the same number of male and female students of comparable age. The Iranian students in Tehran come from all parts of Iran. The sample included students from: the faculty of Social Sciences, School of Applied Social Psychology; University of Tehran, School of Nursing; University of Tehran, School of Architecture and Urbanism; National Popular University of Tehran; Farabi University; and Centre de Haute Etude Internationale University of Tehran, Political Sciences. In Iran the selection of students for university education is a centralized process and takes into account the student's aptitude, interest, knowledge, and previous performance in school. The selection is limited by the university requirements but does not take into consideration the student's age, sex, socioeconomic background, ability to pay for university related expenses, or geographical location.

*Lorand B. Szalay, Robert E. Williams, Jean A. Bryson, and Garmon West, Priorities, Meanings, and Psychocultural Distance of Black, White, and Spanish-American Groups (Washington, D. C.: American Institutes for Research, 1976).

It must be noted, however, that only ten per cent of the high school graduates in Iran are selected to go to university, and these privileged few generally come from a richer educational and social environment.

The data collection method for the study was planned and organized between July and November 1977 in Washington, D. C. It was designed to adapt to the Iranian language, students, and political conditions. Some of the most politically significant terminology was replaced by more neutral words whenever possible in order to avoid arousing the students' sensitivity to the whole process of our data collection. The test was then administered by a native Iranian to the students of Tehran in December 1977.

The political situation in Iran was very delicate at the time of the data collection. The problems had already started to become serious. Most of the graduate and undergraduate schools were on strike. The students were in a state of unrest, very nervous, and politically under pressure. They would refuse all gatherings or classroom situations. A very strong anti-American sentiment was displayed by the majority from all schools. With the help of the university chancellors, department chairmen, and several highly popular and respected faculty members, and the assistance of many Iranian students, it was possible to gather several groups of university students together for testing.

Even in a heavily controlled political environment such as Iran was at the end of 1977 and with people as distrustful and volatile as the Iranian students were, it was possible to use the association method. To obtain the desired insights it was not necessary to ask direct questions about politically sensitive subjects like the Shah or the Savak. Inferences drawn from such apparently neutral themes as republic, monarchy, alliance, future, and fear can be particularly revealing. In general, the method gives the impression of being a language test rather than a public opinion survey. Yet the method offers

insights into the Iranians' depth of sentiments, their level of dissatisfaction, the intensity of their hatred and fear, and provided many indications of the prevailing political attitudes at the time.

The word association task included over 150 key concepts in various areas of life, such as family, friends, money, religion, politics, national images, and was administered to each group in their native language, i.e., English or Farsi (Persian). Results on seventy-two of these concepts are presented in this volume.

General Relevance and Application of the Cultural Findings

Our primary interest is not in the precise quantification of cultural differences between Americans and Iranians but in the reconstruction of dominant cultural patterns and the identification of major differences in the implicit cultural rationales characteristic of these two culture groups. Rather than assessing in absolute terms the amount of concern a group places on a particular view, we simply indicate which trends are more or less salient in comparison with another culture group.

For example, compared to Americans, the Iranians are much more traditional in their perception of family, which conveys a much wider network of relatives, and they view the father in particularly strong relationship to children. In respect to their self images, Americans generally emphasize the needs and wants of the individual, while the Iranians emphasize social qualities.

The dominant elements characteristic of a particular culture group show considerable internal consistency. The dominant patterns of Americans and Iranians just described emerged not only in their perception of family, but also of father, mother, husband, wife, marriage, and home. The individualistic versus social contrast is also consistently evident in their perceptions of family, self, conscience, behavior, and many other themes.

This type of comparative study helps to identify the culturally dominant perceptions and evaluations within each particular subject

area and also allows to explore the consistency of these perceptions across related subjects. The cultural information derived from these comparisons should prove useful in all interactions between Americans and Iranians, even if they come from social, economic, and subcultural backgrounds which substantially differ from that of the students used in this study.

How to Use the Communication Lexicon

The lexicon is composed of ten chapters. Chapter 1 discusses the use of this information for enhancing cultural understanding and improving communication. It provides the information needed to adapt communication to the cultural meanings and understandings of Americans and Iranians. The other nine chapters compare and contrast American and Iranian cultural perceptions in a broad variety of subject areas such as family, friends, society, and government. Each of these chapters addresses a specific problem area represented by eight relevant topics or themes. Specific American and Iranian images and meanings are presented and related to general characteristics of their cultural frames of reference.

A similar study recently conducted on two Arab groups (Egyptians and Jordanians) also provided many useful reference points for comparison.* Considered against the background of comparable information obtained from these other culture groups, the lack of certain reactions from the Iranians can be just as revealing as their most frequent responses. They can reveal, for instance, the extent of political oppression, intimidation and fear.

The comparisons of Americans and Iranian subjective meanings and perceptions are based on the content analysis of their responses to selected stimulus themes. Circular bar graphs are used to convey the proportions of similarities and differences in each element of cultural meaning. The proportion of total responses accounted for by each cluster of semantically related responses is shown as one bar in the

*Lorand B. Szalay, Ahmad Abu-Hilal, John P. Mason, and Jean Bryson Strohl, U.S.-Arabic Communication Lexicon of Cultural Meanings (Washington, D. C.: Institute of Comparative Social and Cultural Studies, 1978).

"semantograph." This visual presentation gives the reader an immediate feel for the relative differences between the groups. With this overall picture in mind he may then consider the interpretive material which describes the principal findings and relates them to the American and Iranian cultures. If additional details are required, the reader may refer to the complete response sets included in Appendix I. It should be pointed out that frequently in the semantograph a particular component may appear to represent the same proportion of subjective meaning for the two groups, but the specific responses in the appendix might reveal important differences.

The analysis within specific problem areas of life reveals consistent trends, such as the Iranian emphasis on the father-child relationship and the American emphasis on the father-mother relationship in the domain of family, and these are discussed in the summary at the end of each chapter. Consistent findings observed across domains reflect certain personality or cultural traits which help to define the American and Iranian frames of reference.

By identifying important differences at these various levels, it is possible to recognize specific as well as general areas which require particular attention in interactions between Americans and Iranians. The comparative presentation allows the lexicon to be used effectively in both directions; just as Americans can readily identify how Iranians see and evaluate timely subjects, Iranians can also identify the components of perception and evaluation which are salient in the American frame of reference. Thus, the lexicon can help both Americans and Iranians to understand and communicate more effectively with each other.

In the following chapters, we present culturally characteristic perceptions and evaluations as revealed by the responses of the Iranian and American student samples to selected stimulus themes representing salient and timely subjects. Wherever possible, the research results have been put into a more general context with supplementary cultural information. For the technical reader, a

complete description of the Associative Group Analysis data gathering techniques is included as Appendix II, and the detailed response categories for each stimulus theme can be found in Appendix I.

CHAPTER 1

USE OF SUBJECTIVE MEANINGS IN CROSS-CULTURAL COMMUNICATION

When we travel abroad or receive visitors from foreign countries, we expect some degree of communications problems. Our attention is fixed on the foreign language itself, on language lessons, and on how much English will be spoken. But the mistake most of us make is to assume that our problems in communication stem only from language differences, and that those problems can be resolved by completing a language course and being able to translate our English thoughts into the appropriate foreign language.

We do realize, when we consider communication in a sense broader than language, that difficulty in conveying meaning is not limited to those situations when there is a language barrier. There are breakdowns in communication within our own country, and even within our own families where there is no language difference. Yet, in using a foreign language or an interpreter, we dismiss our problems by saying simply: "It loses something in translation." If our concern is really communication, the obvious question is: "Just what is it that is lost?"

Anthropologists have suggested that making a transition from one language to another actually involves going from one culture world to another. They further have noted the close association between a language's structure and content and its native speakers' characteristic habits of perceiving and reasoning. There is much debate about just how much language forms determine or limit patterns of thinking, but to disassociate language entirely from its cultural context is a cognitive impossibility.

People in every country of the world develop their own particular interests, perceptions, attitudes, and beliefs which form a characteristic frame of reference within which they organize and interpret their life experiences. It is hard to judge how much people in any particular country differ from Americans in this regard, because the psychocultural factors involved are difficult to define, observe, and predict.

Nevertheless, recognizing this difference is essential to communication across a language barrier.

Overcoming Ethnocentric Bias: Adjusting to the Other Person's Frame of Reference

In adjusting to a cross-cultural communication situation, the first problem we must overcome is "ethnocentric bias." This involves the tacit assumption that if we say something that makes good sense to us, it should make sense to everyone else---a bias that is about as unrealistic as it is widespread. In some cases within our own culture, as when talking to children or to mental patients, we are more aware that our statements may not be automatically understood. But on the whole, our failures to communicate in our own society have not been dramatic enough to modify our conviction that what we are saying is based on a type of universal validity. Without foreign travel, one is rarely attuned to recognizing one's own ethnocentric bias, and even extensive foreign experience does not necessarily disabuse a person of this bias unless that person is sensitive to the kind of communications problems which rise out of cultural differences.

When communicating with another, the objective, whether sought with conscious intent or not, is to relate to the other person's frame of reference. Within any country one finds groups of people whose frames of reference differ greatly but we are often able to communicate reasonably well with those groups as both speaker and listener are familiar with their differences as a matter of normal experience and are able to shift frames of reference to accommodate that difference. But when we must communicate with people whose culture is foreign to us, the degree of difference grows and we are less prepared, on the basis of first-hand experience, to cope with the mental framework confronting us.

The mechanical process of sending communications signals is comparatively simple: signals emitted by the sender are detected and decoded by the receiver. This, however, is only the first step in a very complex psychological process of human communications. Whether

the words we use faithfully perform their intended communication function depends mainly on the subjective reaction they elicit in the mental processes of the listener. If, in decoding the signals, the receiver attaches the same meaning to the words as the speaker has in mind, then the communication is a success. However, usually things do not work out that perfectly since there is often some degree of discrepancy between the psychological meanings attached to the words by the communicator and the receiver respectively. If a translation into another language is made, it becomes a more complex task to comprehend the subjective meanings of the words used in the communication since they reflect differences in underlying philosophy, tacit cultural assumptions, and world view.

Dictionary Meanings Versus Subjective Meanings

A discussion of language and meaning creates a natural inclination to think of definitions given in dictionaries. In learning a foreign language, one of the most valuable tools is the bilingual dictionary where we can look up a particular term in one language and find its corresponding term in another. But because communication is fundamentally a psychological process, we need something more than the usual dictionary technique for establishing the effective meaning of words and phrases and translating with optimum communication. In contrast to the limited dictionary meaning based on convention and formal rules of use, the psychological meaning refers to the entire subjective reaction elicited by a particular concept.

For instance, the translation of the word socialism in an English-Farsi dictionary is sosializm, but the dictionary does not tell us how Iranians actually perceive socialism. When the word sosializm is used, is the Iranian thinking of a state-controlled economy or free enterprise---government-sponsored medical care or a regimented welfare system fashioned after an ideology? Does the Iranian think of the Soviet Union or Sweden as the model? Is socialism a dominant issue which comes up frequently in daily thinking or is it a word which is only vaguely understood? Is socialism considered to be a promise of the future or a threat to present existence? These and similar elements constitute the

subjective meaning or mental representation of socialism. Clearly, if one person's idea of socialism is represented by Sweden and the other person's by the People's Republic of China, they will certainly encounter serious problems in discussing this topic.

As the above example illustrates, the notion of subjective meaning goes far beyond that of lexical meaning. Subjective meaning is not a convention-based verbal code but a mental representation made up of many different components. The subjective meaning of war for a career officer may include such components as military strategy, victory, combat training, and an image of the enemy; while for a civilian, fear, radiation, and death may be particularly strong components. Subjective meanings held by different groups rarely differ in an absolute qualitative sense, but can differ a great deal in the salience of the various components of which the total subjective meaning is composed. The meaning of war to the career officer and to the civilian will be similar in intellectually applicable characteristics. Intellectually, the civilian will agree that war has to do with military strategy and the officer that in war innocent people are killed. The concept will nevertheless have different psychological meanings for them because of the differing salience they assign to these components. In other words, subjective meaning is focused and highly selective; a few components will play roles of critical importance, while a broad variety of other logically applicable characteristics may receive little, if any, attention.

Our interest in communication and human behavior concerns the importance of the components which lie beyond rational definition. One may object that radiation and its biogenetic effects do not, in a logical sense, constitute parts of war; they are merely consequences. Yet, anticipated consequences can be an important component of our subjective understanding of war; it simply is not the same for those who look forward to victory as it is for those who anticipate fatal radiation effects. Subjective components such as these are of particular importance in their motivational influence on human behavior. For instance, the anticipated consequences of war influence what position people are inclined to take and what alternative action they will choose, whether they will go to combat, to exile, or to jail.

Assessing Subjective Meanings Through Word Associations

Despite the close relationship between meaning and communication, practitioners in the field have made few attempts at a systematic study of meanings, partially because information about meanings has not been readily available, and much of what there is has not proven to be terribly useful. Nonetheless, research with a word association technique called Associative Group Analysis has produced some promising results. First of all, from the analysis of word associations, the subjective meaning of a concept can be analyzed in terms of its natural components as it actually exists in the person's or group's mental representation of it. Furthermore, the frequency of particular associations provides an estimate of the perceived importance of each of the components, and this is one of the most valuable advantages offered by the word association approach.

It is important to note that the approach is not limited to logical considerations but allows nonrational but subjectively important elements, such as fear or interest, to emerge. Finally, the word association-based data provide an empirical measure of dominance or priority so that the relative importance of various concepts to a particular social or cultural group can be determined. In view of the fact that we are literally deluged by all sorts of communications and that attention necessarily becomes highly selective, it is essential to communication success to know what is really important in people's minds. From a language point of view all words have equal status, but from the angle of communication certain themes are of critical importance while others are of little or no interest to us.

The information yielded by Associative Group Analysis allows a direct comparison between how a particular culture group views various subjects and the subjective meanings we have developed about those subjects based on our own cultural background and experiences. With this kind of comparative cultural information, we can develop a cultural self awareness and overcome our ethnocentric bias with a clear recognition that our views are not universal.

Developing a Communication Strategy Based on Subjective Meanings

The ability to reconstruct American and Iranian subjective meanings of a variety of selected topics makes it possible to adopt a simple communication strategy which may be summarized in terms of three main principles:

1. In intercultural communication settings, we cannot assume that our priorities and our views are shared. We may need to adapt the presentation of a particular idea so that it fits the experiences and the cultural frame of reference of the representative of the other culture.

2. To reach a particular group effectively, we should address subjects which have high natural importance or dominance in their own frame of reference because that is what will bear on their interest. This is an important motivational requirement, but we are not suggesting that in cross-cultural situations one drop subjects which have little subjective importance; rather, one needs to develop the capability to introduce those topics in a context which does have high cultural dominance.

3. Finally, in communicating about a particular subject, such as war, our success in getting attention and getting a particular point across will depend on our ability to address the topic, at least in the beginning, along meaning components which are particularly salient to the culture group addressed.

It should be stressed that adapting to the frame of reference and cultural meanings of another culture group should not be conceived of as a passive acceptance of those dispositions as unalterable givens. Communication transmits new information and expands knowledge and experience, but to maximize the potential for change it is essential that we start with existing meanings as a point of departure on which to build.

The information about cultural meanings presented in this volume is ideally suited for a strategy which builds on shared meanings in new communications in such a way that differences which may be detrimental to intercultural understanding can be bridged gradually and systematically.

Face-to-Face Interaction Between Americans and Iranians

Although the methodology employed in this study does not provide cultural information in some depth, it cannot report observable behavior. Thus, a brief supplement touching on some characteristics of face-to-face interactions between Americans and Iranians may be helpful.

There is of course diversity in Iranian customs and folkways, and the following outline reflects the more traditional social practices with regard to American-Iranian contacts. These practices prevail in some areas, while in others, particularly those affected by Western influences, the degree to which they are observed may vary. A general framework is provided here, against which observed social practices can be viewed.

Face-to-face contacts. As a whole they are accorded more prominence and are given more time and attention in the Iranian world than is customarily the case among Americans. This is true of chance encounters in the street as well as social occasions in the home or business meetings in offices. It is not customary for people who know each other to walk past one another with only a casual greeting. In fact it is considered rude and may be interpreted as an expression of anger at the individual being met. It is usual to stop, shake hands, inquire about each other's health, and engage in what is known in American culture as "small talk." No mention is made of being in a hurry, and the encounter is not hastily terminated with a hurried apology. One is always expected to have time for friends. After all, what is more important than enjoying a while longer the company of a person you like? When one person is obviously in a hurry, the other may cooperate by being relatively brief, but the basic exchange is not abridged. When this happens there is always a polite exchange about meeting again soon, and they often set a time and place for the next meeting which may or may not take place.

Concept of Time. The concept of time is also dealt with differently in the two cultures. While the American feels controlled by the clock and obliged to be on time, the Iranian feels that the clock is created

for his convenience and should be used as an indication of general not specific time. An Iranian might simply say, "I will meet you after the sun sets."

In general conversation it is not possible to rely on the precise meaning of many expressions of time. For example, the word alān (right now, this instant) is used in many ways depending on the occasion. It could mean now or in a short while; it might mean anytime this morning or this afternoon, or it could mean not at all. For instance, when inquiring about when someone will return, if the person asking is a friend, "right now" means as soon as he is finished with his other business. If a stranger is asking about someone's co-worker, "right now" is a polite substitute for "I don't know." Fārdā (tomorrow) is another word meaning the next day, the first chance, the next week, or the next year depending on what is to happen and who is inquiring.

Exchange of Courtesies. In any encounter, elaborate exchange of courtesy is a necessary part of conversation. One man may say, "I am under your shadow, your excellency." To which the reply might be: "On the contrary you are my master and I am your servant." "I am your sacrifice." "You are the crown on my head." And as the exchange is continued the person with the greater wit is the one who gains greater respect if he can deliver with more sincere intent what may sound like nonsense to someone who knows the language but not the culture.

Phrases of greeting are delivered with considerable animation and enthusiasm, a style more familiar to Americans when meeting friends after a long absence. Inquiries about the other's welfare are sometimes repeated several times. On the other hand, leave-taking may be brief, and by American standards perhaps rather suddenly and unexpectedly accomplished after a single farewell. In some areas, men greeting each other may exchange kisses on the face, especially if they are close relatives. (Americans need not go beyond a handshake within the Iranian cultural pattern, nor should they exceed it within their own cultural pattern by throwing an arm around the Iranian's shoulder).

The nature of encounters---the ritual, one might almost say---seems to reflect the somewhat more intensive emotional content of inter-

personal relations for Iranians as compared with Americans, as has been noted throughout this volume. The strong ties of group affiliation which are felt by Iranians may also be reflected here. The ritual of greeting, one might surmise, is functional rather than casual; it is a reaffirmation of a relationship based on interdependence and cooperation.

Within this context, of course, the American may be accepted as a true friend but on the periphery as far as group relationships are concerned. Hence, the American need not see himself as bound by the full range of commitment characterizing the Iranian's traditional role in this relationship. On the other hand, responding appropriately in the greeting situation is not only courteous but implies respect for the culture of which it is a part. To respond otherwise would not further the establishment of rapport and might even be taken as boorishness or intentional rudeness.

Social Ambiance. In general, the ambiance of social intercourse in the Iranian world is more restrained and formal than Americans are accustomed to. There is considerably more restraint in regard to posture, whether standing or seated: there is nothing seen like the American tendency to sprawl or tilt back in a chair or, especially, elevate the feet in any way. The Iranian's bearing is marked by the kind of dignified reserve which prevailed during more formal eras of American social deportment.

In contrast, to this formality of aspect, however, the Iranian's demeanor is relaxed and easy. Lively conversation is much appreciated especially when spiced with humor (although without boisterousness and loud laughter). Social occasions are opportunities to enjoy the company of others to the full, with conversation as the main diversion and under no pressure of time. Short courtesy-call visits, "dropping by for a few minutes," are not part of the accustomed pattern. The same is true of calls which the Americans consider "purely business;" these too are expected to have at least some of the character of an unhurried social visit. (Both usually include the serving of coffee, tea or fruit juice at least.)

At the same time, the American may notice the absence in the Iranian world of an obligation commonly expected of the American host, namely, to preserve as much as possible the prior claim of the visitor to personalized attention in spite of interruptions. Iranian hosts may receive other friends or relations or even complete strangers and conduct business with them in the presence of a visitor without feeling the need to make an apology. The priority is often given to the stranger or the most distant friend or relative for they are expected to stay a shorter time, but the waiting time might be considerable before the stranger is given a chance to speak. Several cultural features make this custom acceptable, if not obligatory. In view of the Iranian's obligations to members of his group, and the absence of clear distinction between the conduct of business and social occasions, the custom follows as a natural response.

Conversational Topics. Those commonly pursued in the social setting revolve around news about mutual friends and acquaintances, and anecdotes relating to them as well as to life in general. Current events may be touched upon in a casual way, but extended discussion, debate, or argument or strong expression of personal views are generally absent. American visitors may find that many Iranians do not share their interest in detailed specifics (distances, measures, chronology) relating to the local scene, or in details of systems and organizations as such.

These observations are consistent with the study results reported in the body of this text that Iranians have a strong orientation towards people and interactions with people, while technical or factual details about their work and the physical environment are of secondary interest to them.

While the family is seen to be of central importance to Iranians, references to family affairs and family members do not usually come up in conversation. This is particularly the case with regard to wives, who in some parts of Iran do not appear at social occasions with their husbands. Polite inquiries about the health and welfare of family members, which are a normal feature of conversation among Americans, are therefore not expected. Male children in their early teens may be

present at social gatherings with guests in the home. Their behavior is more in the adult mode although they do not necessarily enter into the conversation. Small children, both male and female, may make brief appearances, during which the strong affection between parent and child are much in evidence.

The Appropriate Use of Cultural Information

Most people are brought up in one particular culture, an experience that leaves its indelible imprint on the individual's way of viewing life and interpersonal relationships. It is impossible to eliminate entirely the ethnocentric bias this gives rise to. Customs and social practices in the foreign setting (such as are found in lists of do's and don'ts) may strike the visitor as arbitrary or ritualistic. Often the traveller will proceed to observe them in a ritualistic way as if the mere performance in some way assured acceptance by members of the culture. At the same time, the visitor may feel that the slightest slip will have dire consequences and ensure complete rejection. The apparent necessity of walking this tightrope even may make the individual shrink from further contact.

In the same way that the customs and practices of a culture may seem strange and even incomprehensible, the members of the culture may also appear somehow basically different. What may be forgotten is that we and they are members of the same human species who, while differing in respect to culture, have much in common in regard to facing the circumstances and difficulties of human existence. This is the basic consideration that keeps the process of intercultural communication in perspective. A different culture is not a mode of life created by fundamentally different beings (such as the mythical Martians), but a different "solution" to a common problem arrived at by fellow humans.

Success in communication between cultures therefore rests ultimately on the same basis as success within cultures: the extent

to which a satisfactory interrelationship between people has been developed. The visitor's motivation to seek and achieve such a relationship is the crucial factor in successful intercultural communication. It is within this context that information about cultural differences best serves its purpose, and if it has, the tightrope disappears because the commitment of a social blunder is not a very traumatic event among friends.

CHAPTER 2

COUNTRY IMAGES

How others interpret what we say or what we do depends to a large extent on the subjective image they have developed of us as individuals or collectively as Americans. Whether we are perceived as honest, friendly, and competent or as deceptive and hostile would certainly make a significant difference in international relations.

The important thing to remember is that images are subjective and do not necessarily correspond with facts. With regard to our image as Americans, for instance, it would be pointless to argue the validity of such questions as: Are Americans colonialists or capitalists? Those interested in improving intercultural communication and international relations must recognize that mental images are representations of reality as Americans, Iranians, or any other group see it. They provide the foundation and framework for people's thinking, decision making, and behavior. What really matters in shaping mental images of countries are those few attributes which most stand out in people's minds; the few qualities out of hundreds which, in psychological terms, are salient.

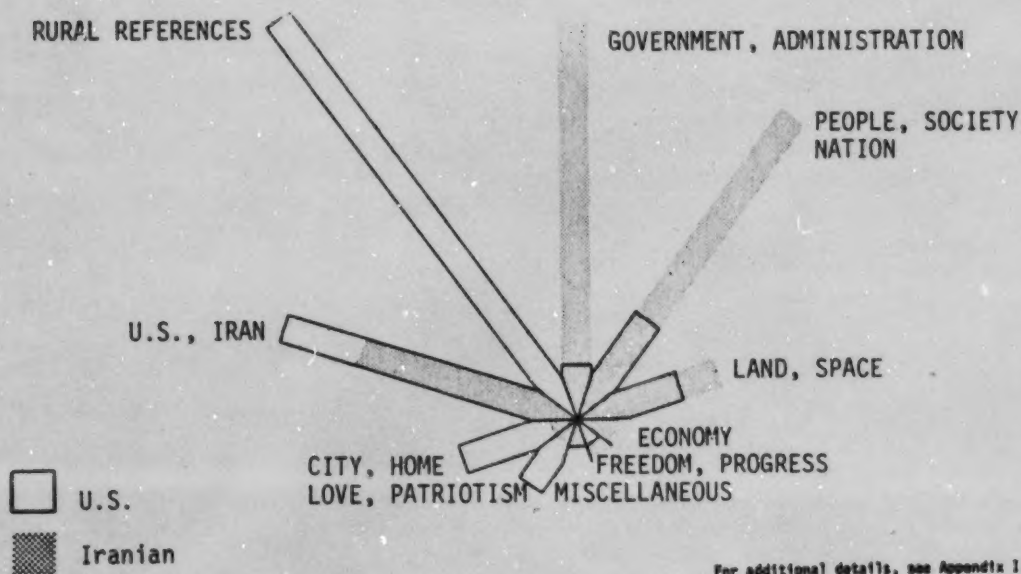
In our attempt to reconstruct some of the mental images of Americans and Iranians, we are particularly interested in identifying and, in relative terms, quantifying those salient elements of perception and evaluation.

COUNTRY

KESVAR کشور

In English country has two main referents: a large unit of political organization like France and a rural area or countryside. The Iranian word used as the translation equivalent, kesvar, conveys only the first meaning. Since country as an organizational unit includes both people and territory, the Iranian word refers to land as territory not as rural countryside. Country has the same kind of meaning among Iranians as a government or administrative organization (see Government, page 9-5). Furthermore, keshvar, vatan, mamlekat, and mihan, meaning a political boundary, home, a geographical division or a state, and nation, are all used in Farsi interchangeably to describe the country.

Both groups think primarily of their own country, the United States or Iran. The American group also mentions Canada, England, Germany, and Spain; the Iranians, the United States and France. While Iranians use the concepts of country and nation to a certain extent interchangeably, for Americans country has a richer meaning and it is a more affect-laden concept. A closer look at this difference reveals that the Iranians tend to emphasize the human element, that is, people, society, nation.*



The exclusively American interpretation of country as a rural area brings to mind farms, streams, fields, etc. Moreover, the Americans make patriotic references to love, the flag, etc. In comparison to Americans and particularly to Arabs, the Iranians display little emotional attachment to country.

The lesser American focus on a population of common origin combined with the stronger positive identification suggests that American patriotism may have its own rationale which differs from the more traditional one.

In line with their focus on the human, national dimension, the Iranians show more concern with the country's leadership and political organization. Country in this perspective is a political organization which provides for leadership and national representation.**

High Frequency Iranian Themes

Iran	īrān	ایران
people	mardom	مردم
society	ejtema'	اجتماع
nation	mellat	ملت
govern	hāyemiyat	حاکمیت
state	sarzamin	سرزمین

* Richard W. Cottam, Nationalism in Iran (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1964).

** F. Kazemzadeh, "Ideological Crisis in Iran," in The Middle East in Transition (Freeport, New York: Books for Libraries Press, 1971), p. 196.

NATION

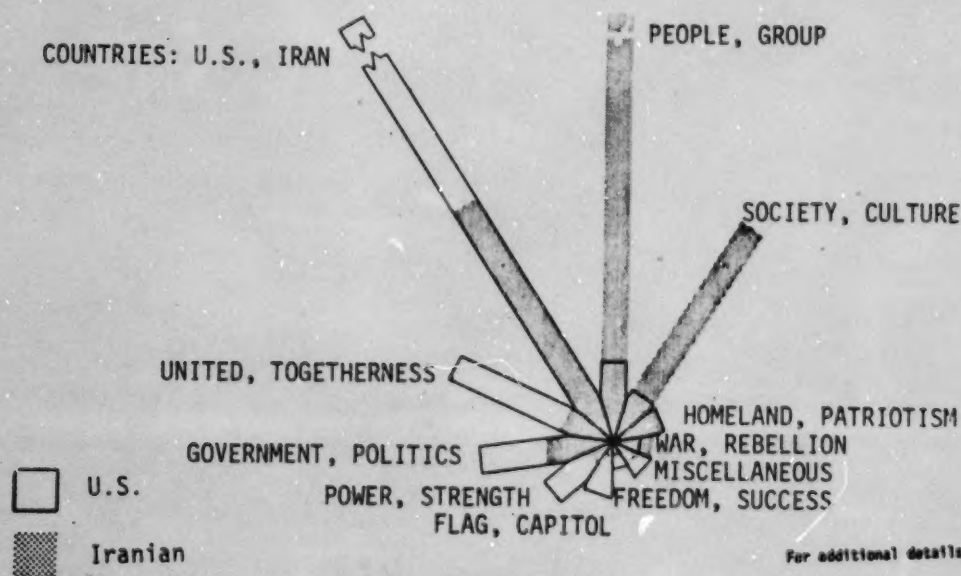
MELLAT ملت

The differences in the American and Iranian views of nation boil down to a few relevant dimensions. Some of the differences may be primarily semantic, as the lexical meaning of the Farsi word mellat is at least partially synonymous with people.

The Iranians place great emphasis on the people, groups, family, and society---that is, on both small and large groups. They also stress the bonds which unite members of a society or nation, such as their culture, history, tradition, language, and religion. Along similar lines, race and tribe also receive recognition.*

For both Americans and Iranians nation implies homeland and inspires feelings of patriotism.

While the Iranians have almost exclusively their own nation and people in mind, the Americans have a more international, cosmopolitan view of nation. Besides their own country Americans think of a broad variety of other countries and nations as well as the United Nations. The Iranians' concern with their own people appears to be primarily nationalistic with little political overtone. The Americans show more awareness of political organizational considerations---government, politics, power, etc.---although the Iranians do show some concern about such political developments as war and rebellion, just as Americans do.



For additional details, see Appendix 1, p. 6.

High Frequency Iranian Themes

people	mardom	مردم
country	kešvar	کشور
society	ejtema'	اجتماع
state	dolat	دولت
group	daste	دسته
government	hokumat	حکومت

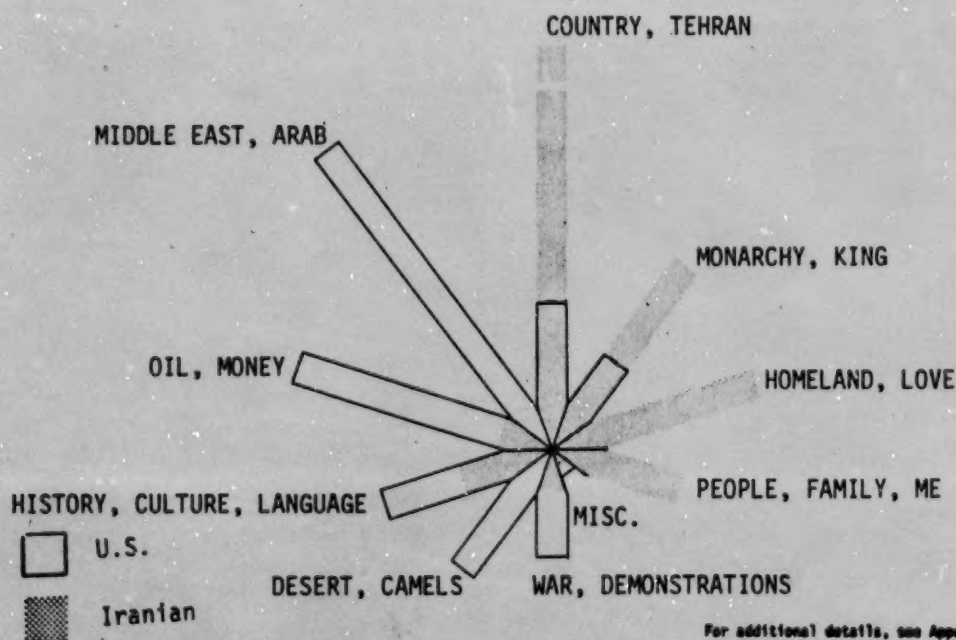
* Richard W. Cottam, Nationalism in Iran (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1964).

IRAN ایران

More substantive differences appear between Americans and Iranians in their respective images of Iran than in their images of the United States.

In the eyes of the Americans, Iran is a Middle Eastern country seen in close relationship to the Arab world. The Iranians do not view Iran either as Middle Eastern or as Arab; nor do they mention the desert, camels, sand or heat, all of which form an important part of the American imagery of Iran as well as of Arab countries and people (Szalay et al., 1978). Other stereotypes Americans apply to Arabs and Iranians include oil and money. Americans also show some awareness of the political problems of Iran: war, riots, demonstrations. They think of Iran as a foreign country with its own history, culture and language.

In the Iranians' image of Iran quite different aspects of the country receive attention. The monarch and the king are meaningful representatives of the country. Iran naturally represents their homeland and birthplace, and it arouses patriotic feelings of national pride. History, religion, a powerful past and civilization are sources of their pride. The Iranians see a close relationship



For additional details, see Appendix I, p. 7.

between Iran and its people, particularly their own family and friends. The analysis of family, father, ancestors, and other affect-laden concepts (Chapter 4) shows a very close tie between individuals and their family in terms of respect, responsibility and love. Iranians identify as intensively with their homeland as they do with their families and ancestors.

Iranians describe Iran as "pure earth of fatherland" (xakê, pākê, pêdarân). Earth is considered by Zoroastrians (members of an old Iranian religion) as a purifying and most respected element of nature. Thus, Iranians have spoken of the "pure earth of Iran" or the "pure land of our ancestors" or "pure land of father and mother" for several hundred years. In light of this, it is interesting that so few references are made to land, father, and "land of my country."

High Frequency Iranian Themes

country	kešvar	کشور
people	mardom	مردم
king	pādešāh	پادشاه
monarchy	pādešāhi	پادشاهی
Tehran	tehrān	تهران
oil	naft	نفت

UNITED STATES

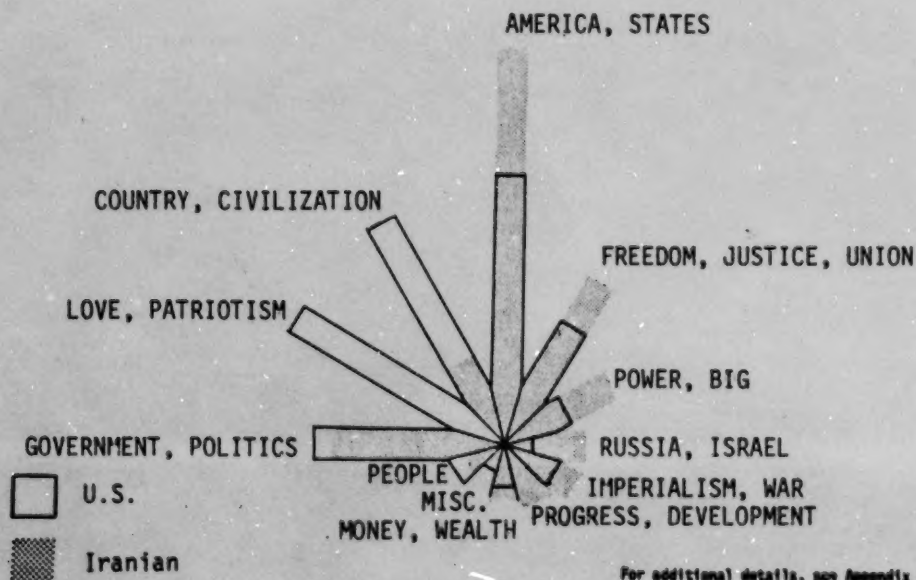
MAMÄLEKE MOTTAHEDE

بالمتحدة

The American and Iranian images of the United States, discounting certain obvious differences in their cultural perspectives, show some interesting similarities. This similarity is naturally relative and becomes apparent only if we place the U.S.-Iranian comparison against the background of analogous U.S.-Jordanian, U.S.-Egyptian, U.S.-Filipino, U.S.-Puerto Rican, and U.S.-Korean comparisons.*

While practically all of these other foreign groups were impressed by the economic, financial, technological, scientific resources of the United States, the Iranians pay little apparent attention to these aspects. This shows that either the Iranians know little about these dimensions or they are relatively unimpressed by them. These dimensions are salient even in the eyes of people from countries with official Marxist political ideologies, such as Yugoslavia and the People's Republic of China.

On the other hand, Iranians place considerable emphasis on social and political attributes of the United States such as freedom and cooperation as well as imperialism and exploitation, although the positive attributes clearly outweigh the negative. Government and



For additional details, see Appendix I, p. 8.

politics receive about the same attention from the Iranians and Americans, whereas the United States as a democracy and a republic is particularly salient in the Iranian mind. Just how salient these ideas are is a matter of contemporary speculation, on which expert opinions show considerable variation.

Strong expressions of love and patriotism reflecting affective self identification with the United States are exclusively American.

Iranians view the United States as a great world power and symbol of republican democracy. They show a considerable degree of admiration for those social and political values represented by the United States.

High Frequency Iranian Themes

Russia	rusiye šoravi	روسیه شوروی
power	godrat	قدرت
freedom	āzadi	آزادی
republic	jomhuri	جمهوری
cooperation	hamkari	همکاری
progress	pišraft	پیشرفت

* Lorand B. Szalay et al., U.S.-Arabic Communication Lexicon of Cultural Meanings, 1978; Filipinos in the Navy: Service, Interpersonal Relations, and Cultural Adaptation, 1977; Subjective Culture and Communication: A Puerto Rican-U.S. Comparison, 1975; Communication Lexicon on Three South Korean Audiences, 1971, 1973. See Appendix II, pp. 15-17 for complete references.

SOVIET UNION

RUSIYE ŞORAVI

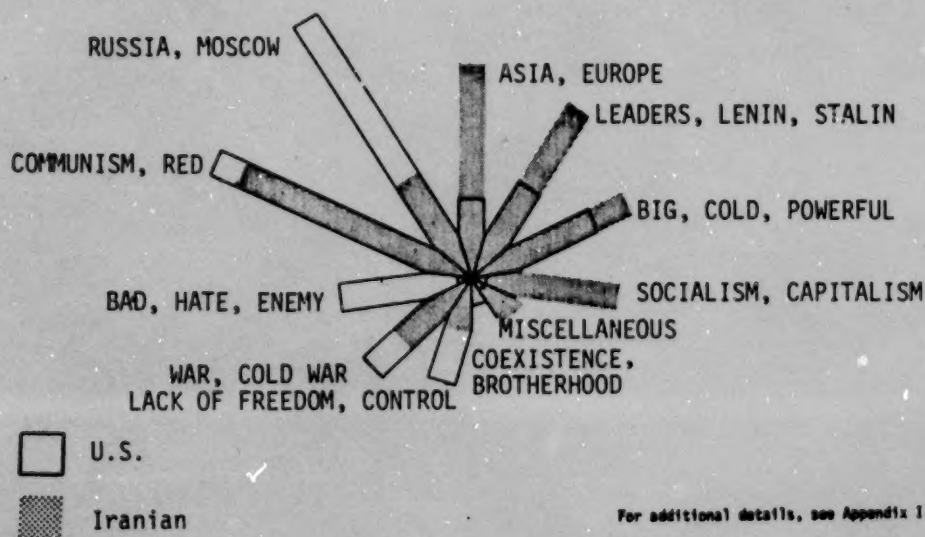
روسیه شوروی

While there is substantial agreement between Americans and Iranians that the Soviet Union is a Communist power, the following differences in imagery suggest that communism may not mean the same thing to these two groups.

While the main ideological label used by Americans to describe the Soviet Union is communism, ideology in general appears to be somewhat less uniform and less consequential to the Iranian group, at least in this context. Iranians consider the Soviet Union a Communist republic with the most powerful Communist party. They emphasized Soviet leadership from Lenin to Breshnev and symbolized it by the hammer and sickle and iron curtain. It is seen as Iran's most important neighboring country, vast, cold and powerful, a country with which it is preferable to be on good terms.*

There are some indications that the Iranian view of the Soviet Communist regime is idealized; for example, they stress the idea of a Communist socialistic brotherhood and an egalitarian freedom and coexistence.

The Americans are more concerned about the Soviet Union's political and military power and the threat communism may present.



For additional details, see Appendix I, p. 9.

The American students show an awareness of prevailing contemporary conditions, particularly the restrictions and lack of freedom and the fate of Jews. They are also more emphatic about the might of Soviet power, conventional and unconventional. Finally, the Americans clearly express their negative evaluation of the Soviet Union through feelings of threat, lack of trust, hostility, etc.

Despite the centuries of border wars and hostilities between Iran and the Soviet Union---the Shah's anti-communism, the Soviet threats directed against the Iranian government---the Iranians show little sign of animosity and minimal concern with threat in relation to their powerful neighbor. One possible explanation may come again from their strong preoccupation with the domestic situation, causing them to disregard external threat and to dissociate themselves from the Shah's traditional anticommunism.

High Frequency Iranian Themes

communism	komunist	کمونست
socialism	sosiälizm	سوسیالیزم
Lenin	lenin	لنین
Russia	rusiye	روسیه
Europe	urupä	اروپا
materialist	mäteriälist	ماتریالیست

* G. Marshall and S. Hodgson, The Venture of Islam Conscience and History in a World Civilization, Volume 3 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1974).

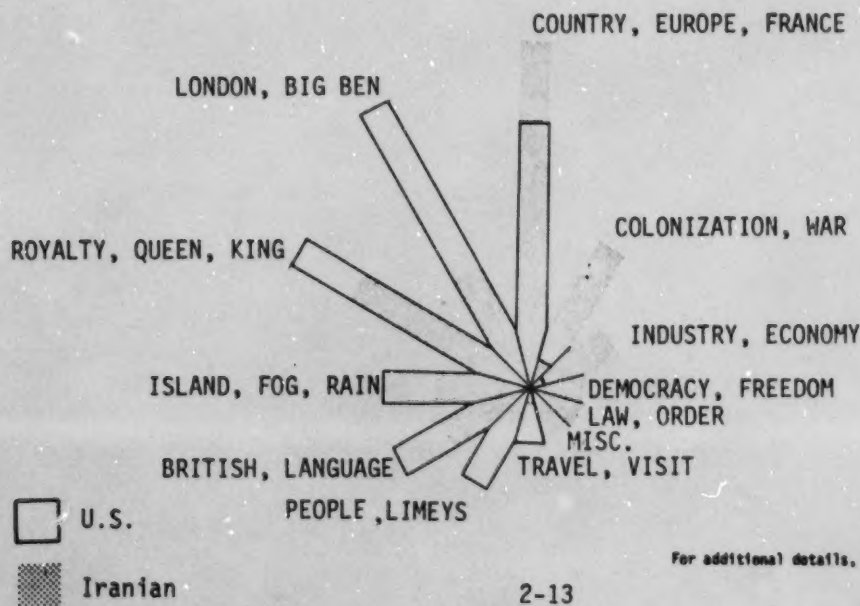
ENGLAND

ENGELESTÂN انگلستان

The Americans' image of England is closely associated with France probably for historic reasons, while the Iranians' image of England as a country shows a greater diversity and includes connections with America, India, and Europe.

The American image of England is somewhat richer in such geographic historical elements as Parliament, Big Ben, Picadilly, etc. They also provide a richer description of the scenery and climate: green, fog, misty, horses, soccer, pub, etc. Finally, the Americans show more familiarity with various Englishmen ranging from friends to Sherlock Holmes, from the Beatles to Shakespeare. Their familiarity extends naturally to the royal family as well, the queen, the king, the prince, etc.

The Iranian interest has a somewhat different focus. First of all, it is less historical, except for their concern with colonization and imperialism. On the positive side, Iranians associate England with law and order, education, and with certain political ideals such as democracy and freedom. In the economic realm England is associated with industrialization and progress. In general, while the Americans' image of England is more shaped by history and by personal impressions,



For additional details, see Appendix 1, p. 10.

the Iranians' image includes more timely issues involving political ideals, progress, and industrialization.

High Frequency Iranian Themes

country	kešvar	کشور
colonization	ēstēmār	استعمار
London	landan	لندن
Europe	urupā	اروپا
queen	malake	ملکه
English	ēnglīsi	انگلیسی

FRANCE

FARANSE

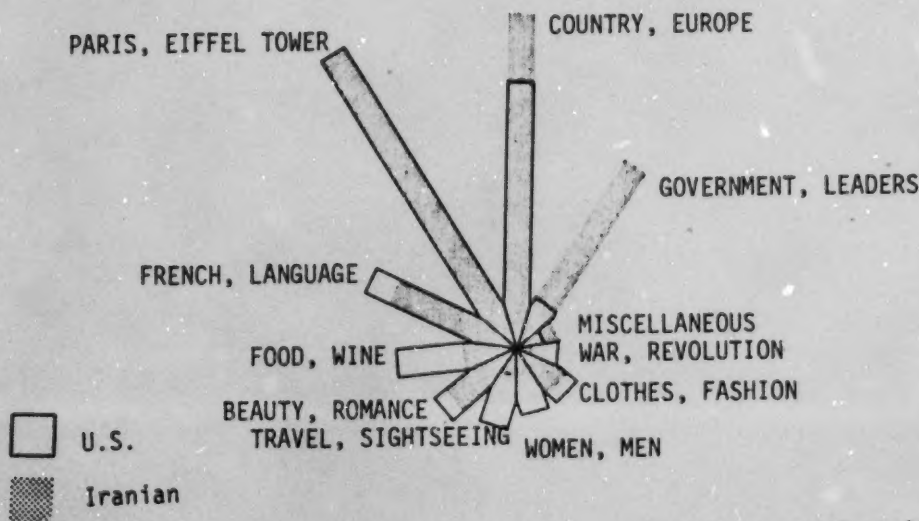
فرانسه

The image of France is quite similar for Americans and Iranians. Both groups characterize France as a European country. History offers abundant explanation for the American perspective which places more emphasis on the European and on France's relationship to Spain.

Paris, the Eiffel tower and the Louvre are symbolic of France to both groups; although the Americans are familiar with more local details. From the American perspective France appears to be more popular as a pleasant place for travel and foreign vacations. Americans are attracted by French products, particularly food, cheese and wine. To the Americans France brings to mind sex and romance and fashion; Iranians think more of its general beauty.

The Iranians appear to be more impressed by French political leaders, from Napoleon to de Gaulle, and by ideals of the French revolution and the republic.

The French language has about the same salience to both groups, while the accent is more of an issue to Americans. To the educated Iranian, French culture and life style has historically represented an attractive model. The Iranian system of education was patterned after the French system. French in the last century was the second



For additional details, see Appendix 1, p. 11.

language of the educated upper-class Iranians and therefore many cultural and educational ties exist between Iranians and the French. This is why in the minds of the Iranians France is so salient and not associated with other European countries like Spain and Italy as is the case with Americans.*

High Frequency Iranian Themes

country	kešvar	کشور
Paris	pāris	پاریس
Europe	urupa	اروپا
DeGaulle	dogol	دوگل
Napoleon	nāpelón	ناپلئون
language	zabān	زبان

* G. Marshall and S. Hodgson, The Venture of Islam: Conscience and History in a World Civilization, Volume 3 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1974).

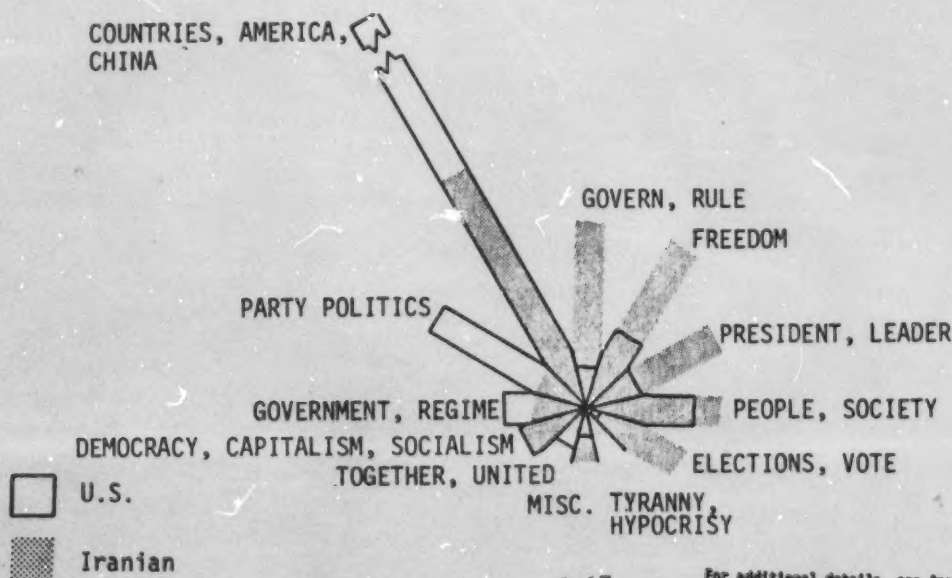
REPUBLIC

JOMHURI جمهوری

As a form of political organization and government, the basic principles and ideals of a republic receive different attention from Americans and Iranians. These very same differences are reflected by the countries which exemplify the idea of republic to Iranians and Americans. While the U.S. is the country most representative of a republic to Iranians, to Americans the term "republic" evokes China more readily than it does their own country. This somewhat startling switch can be at least partially explained by some of the other reactions which suggest that for the Iranians republic has a richer, more timely meaning anchored in contemporary political issues and principles, while for Americans it has lost a great deal of its traditional meaning.

To Iranians a republic is a practical form of government based on constitutional elements such as a parliament and an elected president. President Carter is the most frequently mentioned personality by the Iranians in this context.

Behind this form of government the Iranians apparently see the victory of freedom and common rights over tyranny. As the practical way to reach these ideals they stress the importance of elections and the democratic process, in apparent opposition to the Shah's monarchy.



2-17

For additional details, see Appendix I, p. 12.

While the ideals with which Iranians strongly identify have French and American roots, to the contemporary American student, republic has apparently lost some of its historic weight and appeal. It has become more strongly associated with foreign governments such as the Republic of China than with the U.S.; its meaning has been narrowed to competition between two domestic political parties, the Democrats versus the Republicans.

The above findings on the vanishing meaning of republic could probably be challenged if the American students were asked to answer specific questions or to write essays about the meaning of republic. Such tasks would induce people to draw on their accumulated knowledge along historical lines. Our concern here, however, is with timely dispositions which influence peoples' way of thinking.

High Frequency Iranian Themes

America	āmrikā	آمریکا
freedom	āzādi	آزادی
govern	hokumat	حکومت
president	rāisjomhur	رئیس جمهور
election	ēntexābāt	انتخابات
democracy	demokrāsi	دموکراسی

SUMMARY

The Americans' and Iranians' country images reflect certain characteristic differences shaped by each group's cultural perspective.

There are some basic semantic differences as well as substantive differences in perceptions and beliefs observable here. At a semantic level the comparisons are complicated by problems of disparate conceptual categories. As we have noted, the English word country does not translate completely into the word used in Farsi, and the same is true about the concept of nation as well. However, we do not work under the assumption of exact correspondence. Our objective is to compare the subjective meanings of words that represent the closest available translation equivalents in the two languages in order to identify the general perceptual and motivational dispositions, cultural views, beliefs, and values characteristic of each group.

We find, for instance, that although the terms available for country and for nation do not provide for exact translation, they do reveal some consistent cultural trends. Whether we speak of country or nation, Americans place emphasis on political organization, the land or territory, its boundaries and limits. In contrast, the Iranians in both contexts emphasize people in small or large social organizations: people, family, society. Furthermore, Americans name many specific countries and nations, while the Iranians focus on their own nation. In most of our studies of traditional cultures we have found a strong nationalistic tendency to emphasize the nation and its ethnic-racial unity rather than the country, land, or its political organization. This distinction has been consistently observed among Koreans, Slovenians, Filipinos, and Arabs.* In fundamental agreement with the characterization of nationalism by such experts as Kautsky, Sigmund, and Pye, our findings have shown a consistent and fairly sharp contrast in the American and more traditional cultural interpretations of nationalism.** These differences can be readily explained by the differences in background and historic conditions in the development of these countries.

The more international cosmopolitan perspective of the Americans is the likely product of the contemporary great power position of the United States. In the American notions of country and nation the land or territory has come to be the major unifying force rather than the common race or origin of the people.

The culturally pluralistic foundation and historic development of the United States, which has absorbed pioneers, settlers, and immigrants from all parts of the world has naturally led to notions of country and nation which differ fundamentally from those developed in most traditional societies formed on the basis of a single ethnic-racial group.

Against the background of the other traditional societies, the Iranian results are also informative. Compared to Arabs, that is, Egyptian and Jordanian groups, the Iranians show relatively little emotional identification with nation or country. The Arabs express strong feelings of love and nationalism; they stress the importance of collective national goals such as peace, freedom, cooperation, progress, and the need to sacrifice for national defense and security. Compared to the Arab, the Iranian attitude appears to be less activist, emotionally less committed. Similar conclusions can be drawn from the Iranians' image of their own country as well as their image of the various world powers. It is interesting how closely the Iranian image of the United States approximates that held by Americans themselves. For the Iranian students the United States brings to mind political institutions and political ideals---freedom, justice, democracy---which represent a contrast to monarchy and dictatorship. The negative attributes---imperialism, exploitation---have low salience. Compared to Arabs, the Iranians pay little attention to technology and science, but somewhat more to development, progress, and power. This reflects a more political, rather than economic, orientation and is somewhat critical of the United States.

Compared to this, the Americans' image of Iran indicates little substantive knowledge of the country but appears to a large extent stereotypical. They make little distinction between Iran and the Arab countries and use basically the same superficial images: camels, desert, oil. On the factual side they show some timely interest in the Shah, war and demonstrations. To the Iranians their own country is a source of pride and an object of considerable identification. The monarch and the monarchy are salient elements of this image. They closely relate to the Iranian people, family, friends, and self. Yet the level of affective self identification appears to be moderate, particularly when compared to the Arab groups' intense affect-laden national identification.

Similarly, the images of the three other main countries examined---the Soviet Union, England, and France---beyond the numerous details convey some general trends. First, at a factual level again, they show considerable similarity between Iranian and U.S. responses in their familiarity, awareness of details, sophistication. In general, the Americans' country images reflect more the interest of the tourist or visitor, including scenery, landmarks, history; the Iranians show more interest in political leadership. In the case of the Soviet Union, however, the Americans surpass the Iranians in their expression of political interest and more negative attitudes. To both groups communism is a salient feature of the Soviet system, but to the Iranians communism is more related to socialism and socialism is more related to democracy.

Finally, in the context of most of the country images explored, Iranians have used the concept of republic intensively. They have described the U.S., Soviet Union, England, France with occasionally heavy references to republic. Because we had observed this, we included republic as a stimulus in the present analysis. As the results indicate, the contrast between monarchy and republic constitutes a particularly salient concern for Iranians. While in the minds of the Americans republic

has more historic relevance, to Iranians republic has a more affect-laden meaning of more timely relevance.

* Lorand B. Szalay et al., Communication Lexicon on Three South Korean Audiences, 1971; "Comparative Analyses of U.S. and Slovenian Sociopolitical Frames of Reference," 1978; Filipinos in the Navy: Service, Interpersonal Relations, and Cultural Adaptation, 1977; U.S.-Arabic Communication Lexicon of Cultural Meanings, 1978. See Appendix II, pp. 15-17 for complete references.

** John H. Kautsky, ed., Political Change in Underdeveloped Countries (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1962); Paul E. Sigmund, Jr., ed., The Ideologies of the Developing Nations (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1967); Lucian W. Pye and Sidney Verba, eds., Political Culture and Political Development (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1965).

CHAPTER 3

SELF IMAGE

The self concept or self image deserves particular attention in view of its critical role in shaping interpersonal relations and the delicate problems involved in its assessment. Sociologists, anthropologists, psychologists, and psychiatrists from Mead to Erickson emphasize the role of the self image in influencing the nature of interpersonal relationships we are likely to establish in our lives.

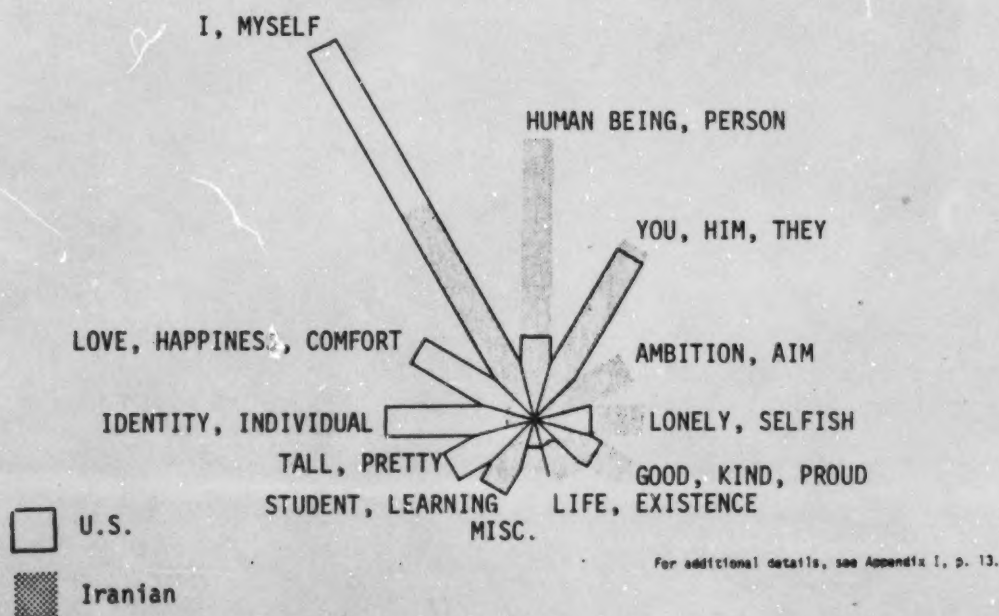
Our previous comparative psychocultural studies---U.S.-Korean (1971), U.S.-Puerto Rican (1976), U.S.-Hispanic (1978), U.S.-Arabic (1978)---have indicated that variation in interpersonal relations across cultures is apparently the most characteristic and most central element of cultural differences. In light of these findings, the culturally dominant self image is probably the best key to understanding these cultural variations. More specifically, the findings suggest that the individualistic American self image is at the very core of the dominant patterns of interpersonal relations in the United States. Compared to Americans, members of more traditional cultures, from Arabs to Hispanic Americans, show a great deal of similarity in that the self plays a less salient role while family, ethnic-racial, national or other collective group orientations are consistently more dominant.

These observations pose several intriguing questions in the context of the Iranian culture whose members are frequently characterized as highly individualistic. Are Iranians individualistic in relation to other traditional culture groups? Is their individualistic orientation equal to that of Americans? Is Iranian individualism, as suggested by literature, also supported by empirical data, and if so on which traits? In search for answers, we begin our inquiry with the analysis of the self image and go on to several other relevant subjects such as conscience, selfishness, and personality.

ME
MAN من

Americans have many alternative expressions---I, myself, self, ego, their own first names---which point to the importance they place on "me" as an individual. The importance of the self is further underscored by the "me-you" contrast: Americans see themselves as individuals in relationship to other individuals (you) rather than to some impersonal others. They also show more awareness of their own physical appearance (tall, pretty) and emotional state (happy) than do most other cultural groups.

The Iranians place considerable emphasis on I and ego although still less than the Americans. They view the self primarily as a human being, a person. They also place less emphasis on the me-you relationship than on one's relationship to others in general and describe themselves in terms of broad human qualities and social characteristics such as being good and kind. However, they also display some self criticism, describing themselves as selfish, uninformed, puzzled. The Iranians show concern with personal motivation and aspirations. The Iranian concept of self presents an interesting feature of individuality. The Iranian is a proud individual with a sense of belonging to a society as a human being in relation to others as a son, a daughter, a mother, a father. The individual's spiritual



existence is stressed as well as life in general. The Iranians stress ambition and wishing as opposed to more personally directed concepts of fun, enjoyment, love and happiness.

The Iranian tendency is toward a sense of pride and ambition which is shared with everyone and not exclusively in an individualistic way; it fosters a sense of belonging to a society and a family as a human being.

In general, the Iranian's self image shows more similarity with that of Americans than of Arabs; it is less narrowly ego-centered than the American but more individualistic than the self image of Egyptians or Jordanians.*

High Frequency Iranian Themes

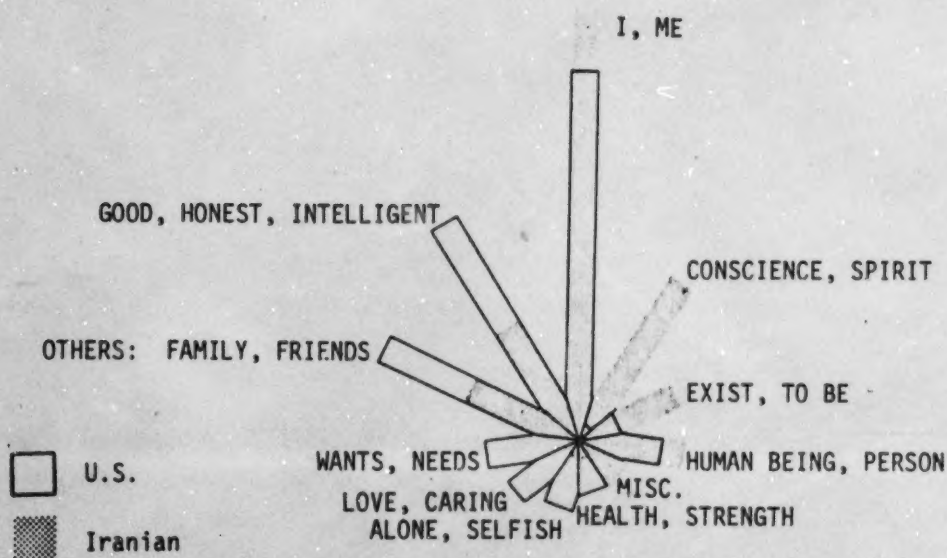
human being	ensan	انسان
self	xod	خود
him	u	او
proud	maqrur	مغرور
selfish	xodxah	خود خواه
student	danešju	دانشجو

* Lorand B. Szalay, Ahmad Abu-Hilal, John P. Mason, and Jean Bryson Strohl, U.S.-Arabic Communication Lexicon of Cultural Meanings (Washington, D. C.: Institute of Comparative Social and Cultural Studies, 1978).

SELF

XISTAN خويشتن

Here the Iranian self image shows even closer similarity to the self image of the Americans. Both groups show a very strong focus on I, ego, me. The values associated with the self reflect an inner-directed frame of reference built around a rational model, and qualities of individual morality are emphasized: being good, honest, trustworthy. The Americans are inclined to view others in juxtaposition to the self. The Iranians again identify themselves as human beings in general and think of family members and relatives. The Americans see themselves as being alone, a view which follows from the individualistic isolation of the self, according to Riesman, Hsu, and other experts on the American culture. The Iranians are inclined to think of the inner self, soul or spirit, a conceptualization which has strong cultural roots in philosophical and religious views. The Americans show more concern with personal needs and wants and with physical appearance. In other words, Americans emphasize health/strength and wants/needs, which involve more personal interests in contrast to the Iranians who stress existence, being a human being and the spiritual side of the self. The self image of the Iranians occupies a sort of intermediary position between the highly individualistic American self image and the predominantly socially oriented Arab self image which reflects



primarily group and nationalistic self identification.*

It is most interesting that among Iranians needs, wants, love, caring and being alone consistently receive little or no attention as compared to Americans. One reason is that the Iranians look to friends and to society for the satisfaction of needs and wants and for love and caring. Ferdowsi, the great Iranian poet, says:

The sons of Adam are parts of one body.
If nature disturbs one part,
The others are not immune.
If thou is free of caring for others,
Thou shall not be called human.

High Frequency Iranian Themes

me	man	من
human being	adami	آدمی
individual	saxs	شخص
conscience	zamyar	ضمیر
interior	batan	باطن
family	famil	فامیل

* Lorand B. Szalay et al., U.S.-Arabic Communication Lexicon of Cultural Meanings, 1978, chapter 3.

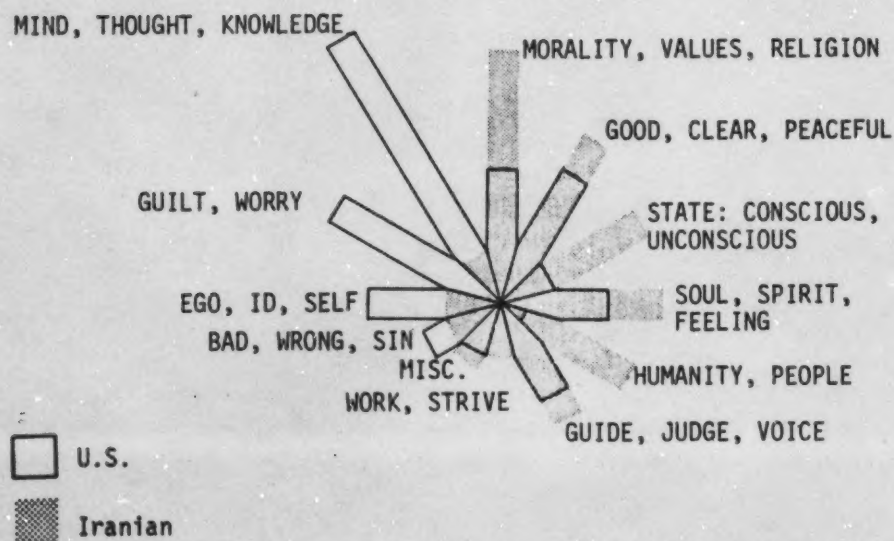
CONSCIENCE

VOJDAN وجدان

The most obvious difference between the American and Iranian meaning of conscience is the element of choice and responsibility for consequences of personal behavior.

Americans view conscience as an internal mental guide and as self-awareness. The conscience is judgmental and tells the person right from wrong. Hence, the person should pay close attention to his conscience or suffer the consequences of feelings of guilt, worry and pain. Conscience may be perceived as God-given, but once transferred to man it is part of him, the very center of his ego and the source of his decisions in behavior.

The Iranian view of the conscience is more explicitly religious, more transcendental, spiritual. Although the American view also has strong roots in the Protestant religious ethic, they identify conscience mainly with thought, intellect, and judgment. Along the Persian world view, conscience is more a quality of the human soul or spirit, viewed as naturally good, clear and peaceful. Little attention is given to choice, particularly the negative or wrong alternatives and their undesirable consequences. Conscience reflects the goodness of a person, as an inherent quality of the human



For additional details, see Appendix I, p. 15.

being, a person with honor and faith, nobility and sincerity. In this sense conscience does not involve interaction with the self but rather an intrinsic quality revealed in one's personal life.

High Frequency Iranian Themes

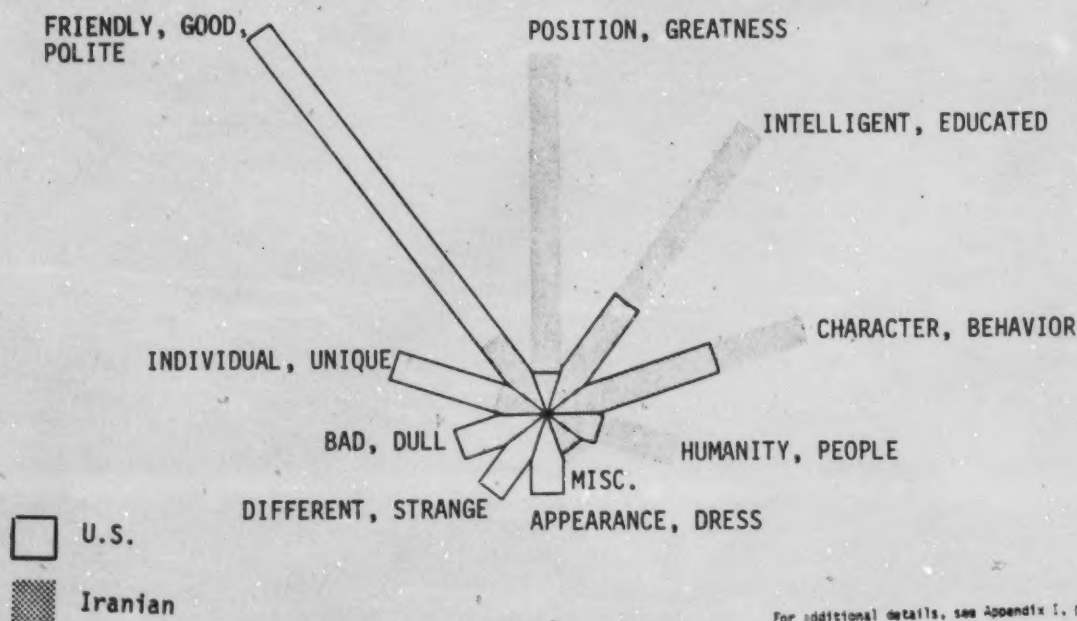
consciousness	agahi	آگاهی
humanity	ensaniyat	انسانیت
faith	iman	ایمان
honor	šaraf	شرف
interior	baten	باطن
law court	mahkame	محکمه

PERSONALITY

شخصیت

The American view of personality is built around the individuality and uniqueness of the person. From this individualistic perspective Americans pay close attention to personal qualities, many with clear interpersonal implications: good, friendly, nice, outgoing, etc. While at first glance this concern with attributes of interpersonal relevance may appear paradoxical, it actually highlights the Americans' intensive interest in the personal qualities of the individual actors in interpersonal settings. Another American disposition evidenced here is their tendency to contrast extremes: positive and negative, good and bad.

The Iranians show a particularly strong concern with the person's position, rank, role, power, and other factors determining his place in society. They also stress education and training with regard to their role in influencing social position, while the Americans have more personal attributes such as intelligence and thought in mind. Similarly, while Americans see a close relationship between personality and character as internal psychological dispositions of the individual, the Iranians are more preoccupied with observable behavior and life style.



The Iranian expression, saxsiyat, refers more to social and manifest personality than to individual character. The word axlag and the compound expression, axlage baten, inner character, or axlago raftar, character and behavior, are mostly used to translate the English expression "character". For this reason the Iranian reactions to the stimulus word, saxsiyat, (personality) indicate the basic visible and social side of the personality, as opposed to the American meaning in which personality and character can be interchangeable.

Here the comparison between what a person has (American) and what a person does (Iranian) is interesting. An individual can be without personality, or "be shakhsiat" in Farsi. This means that he is without a proper, socially accepted personality as manifested in his behavior. As the results indicate, personality is very closely related among Iranians to position and to their station in life. The reason is again the behavior of a person in situations. An individual with a pleasant and desirable personality is one who is in a position to act freely and who behaves properly.

High Frequency Iranian Themes

position	maqam	مقام
human	ensan	انسان
existence	vojud	وجود
respect	ehteram	احترام
politeness	adab	ادب
greatness	bozargi	بزرگی

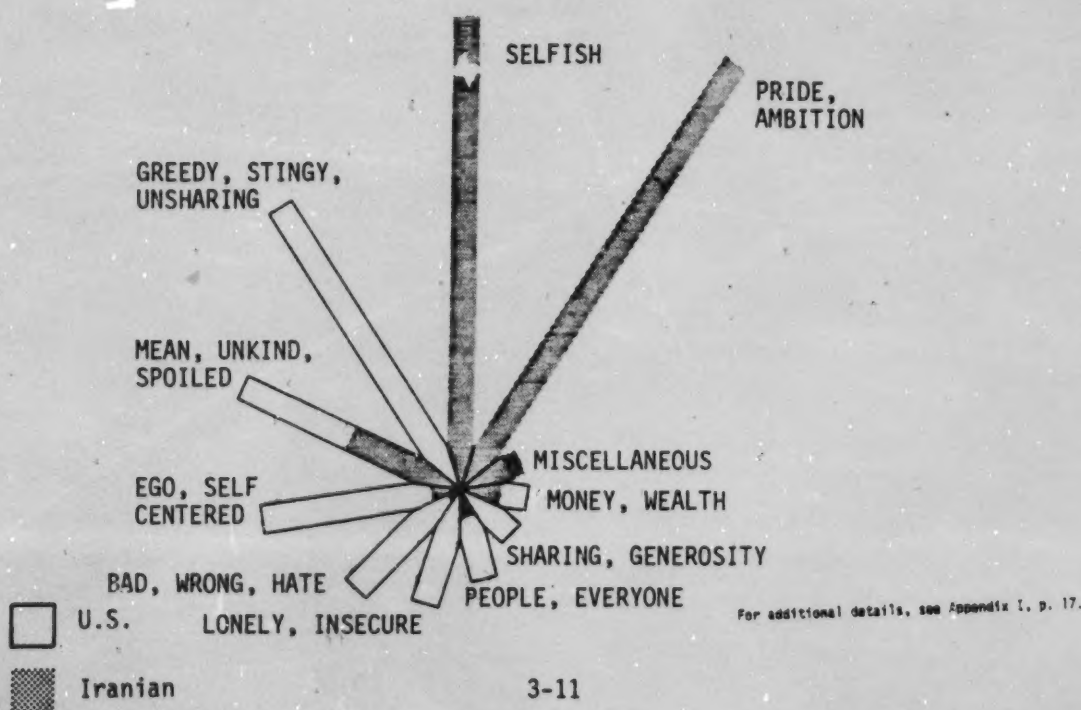
SELFISHNESS

XODXĀHI خودخواهی

Selfishness involves a variety of negative qualities to both Americans and Iranians but not the same ones. To Americans selfishness has a particularly strong material-financial component and the selfish person is viewed as greedy, stingy, and unsharing. Parallel to this materialism, Americans think of asocial qualities: mean, unkind, spoiled. This probably explains why the selfish person is viewed as being alone and feeling lonely and insecure. In general, selfishness is related to self centeredness. It is considered as the opposite of sharing and generosity and is condemned as bad, wrong, unfair, and hateful.

To the Iranians selfishness contains little of the above meaning. The Farsi word gorur conveys a particularly strong emphasis on pride and ambition, haughtiness and superiority. Pride apparently has some material foundation based on richness and money, although this dimension gets relatively little emphasis. It is not condemned as bad or wrong but criticized as low, stupid, and foolish.

A close synonym in Farsi is, xod-xahi, which means selfishness as well but has a partially different connotation. It conveys



more self want, self centeredness and self directedness. Xod-parasti means worshiping oneself, but gorur, a close synonym, means pride, dignity and selfishness. The pride and dignity as well as ambition are therefore closely related by a great majority of Iranians to selfishness whereas no Americans related selfishness to being selfish, proud and ambitious.

In general, it appears that in the American context, selfishness implies more a moral issue, pursuing self interest at the expense of others. In the Iranian context it implies more a sort of inflation of the self and its imposition on others. While in the case of Americans the conflict is primarily in the field of material interests, for the Iranians this dimension is more social and psychological.

High Frequency Iranian Themes

selfish	azxodrazi	از خود راضی
pride	kebr	کبر
lowness	pasti	پستی
ambitious	jahtalabi	جاه طلب
haughtiness	tafaron	تفرعن
stupidity	divanegi	دیوانگی

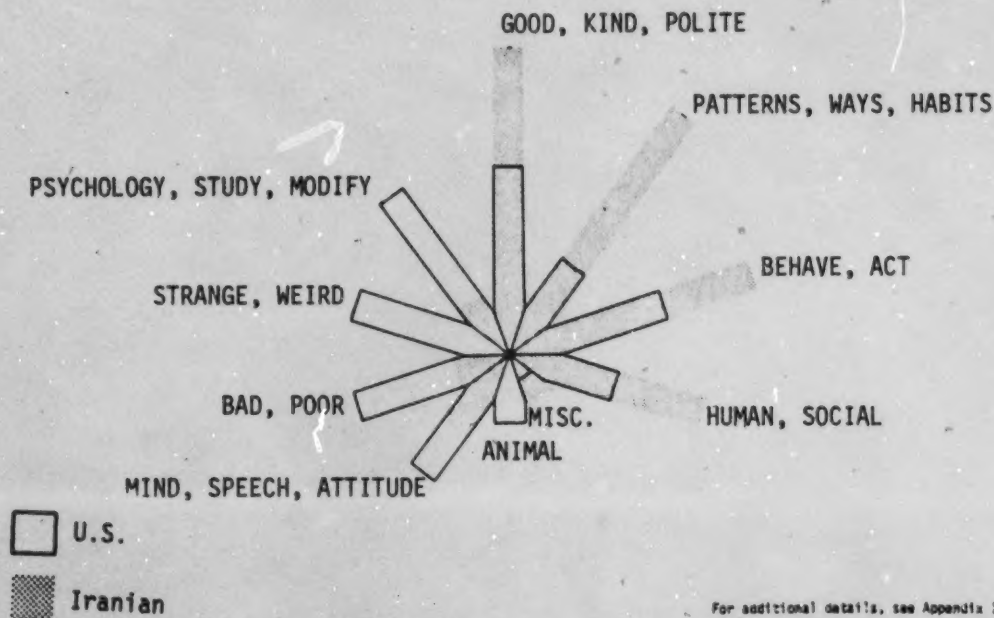
BEHAVIOR

RAFTÄROKERDAR رفتار و کردار

The main dimensions or perspectives used by Americans and Iranians in viewing behavior reflect some differences found to be characteristic of the two cultural frames of reference.

Americans distinguish between animal and human behavior, a distinction clearly in line with their psychological approach to behavior. They show strong awareness of such psychological notions as behavior modification, change, learning, and reinforcement. Also in line with this psychological emphasis is the American distinction between normal and abnormal psychotic manifestations of human behavior. The attention given by Americans to mental, attitudinal, motivational, emotional factors as forces influencing behavior reflects considerable sophistication and familiarity with the psychological foundation of behavior.

As an interesting difference, the Iranians take a more social and anthropological view of behavior. It is social in the sense that Iranians pay considerable attention to social units---family, society---and to the process of socialization. They also emphasize certain social qualities and attributes of human behavior such as kindness, goodness, courtesy, dignity, respect.



For additional details, see Appendix I, p. 18.

Behavior also is related to patterns, ways and habits by Iranians because they believe there is an acceptable and expected form of behavior in any social situation. It is always related to being kind, good and polite. As was seen in the case of personality, behavior is the manifestation of the personality. In fact, the success and popularity of an individual and the advancement of a person in a social position is often based on his awareness of proper personality and behavior as observed by others.

High Frequency Iranian Themes

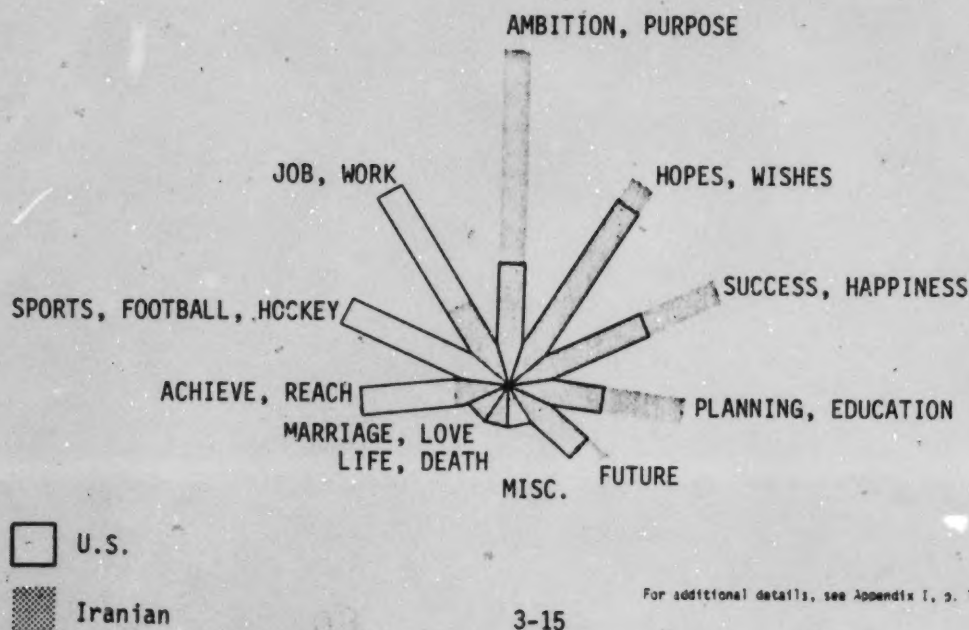
training	amuzeš	آموزش
goodness	xubi	خوبی
bad	bad	بد
habits	adat	عادات
family	xanevade	خانواده
formalities	adab	آداب

GOALS

HADAF هدف

The U.S.-Iranian similarity is somewhat less than suggested by the graphical presentation. The Americans place more emphasis on personal ambition, on the satisfaction of personal needs and wants. Their emphasis on happiness and satisfaction also indicates more immediate motivational objectives. The American tendency to think of goals within the realm of the realizable is further demonstrated by their emphasis on achievement and reaching goals. Goals in relation to one's job and work are apparently more immediate American concerns than they are Iranian.

The Iranians associate goals closely with aims and purpose, and with wishes, hopes and desires. The objectives they have in mind---success, progress, esteem, and position---are less immediate and more socially oriented than those of the Americans. The importance assigned to education suggests that they recognize its long-range instrumentality and importance to goal attainment. Although there is considerable agreement between Americans and Iranians with regard to certain desirable goals, Americans stress more practical goals closely related to personal wants and needs and their achievement, while the Iranians think of goals that are somewhat less



For additional details, see Appendix I, p. 19.

immediate, more in the realm of wishes, with less emphasis on personal satisfaction.

To Iranians, goal has apparently no meaning in relation to sports. For example, in the case of soccer, Iranians simply use the English word, goal.

High Frequency Iranian Themes

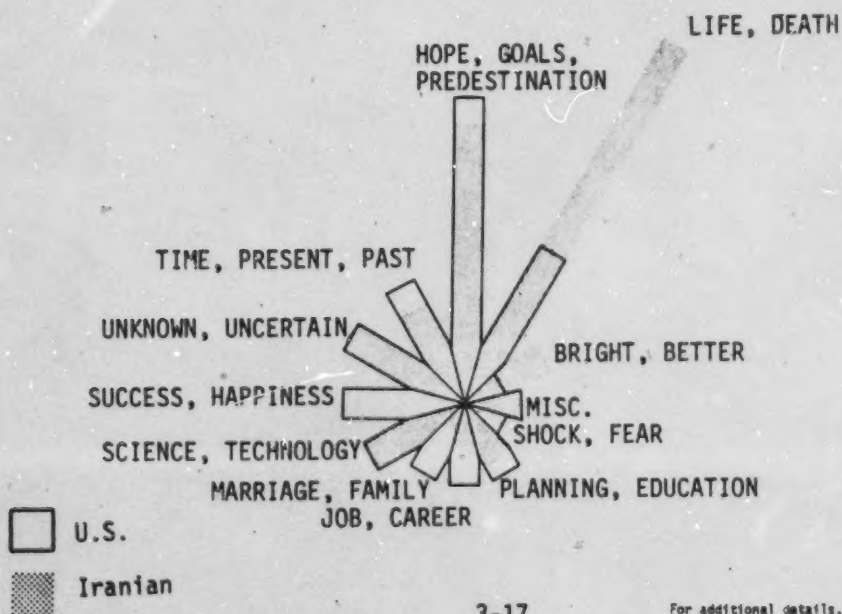
purpose	maqsud	مقصود
wishes	amal	آمال
education	tahsil	تحصيل
success	movafaqiyat	موفقتیت
money	pul	پول
destiny	sarnevest	سرنوشت

FUTURE آینده

Although there is considerable agreement between Americans and Iranians that the meaning of future has an important time dimension, the Iranians pay somewhat less attention to it, particularly to the immediate present.

Americans express ambivalent feelings about the future. They think somewhat more of the unknown, uncertain nature of the future, and they speak of fear and of future shock; on the other hand, they associate the future with scientific and technological progress, brightness, and promise. With regard to personal expectations, both groups show similar concern with success and happiness in general and with marriage and jobs in particular. Compared to the Iranians, Americans show much more preoccupation with work, job and career.

The most sizable difference between the two culture groups involves their expectations and attitudes toward the future--their hopes and goals. Not only is this attitudinal component much more salient for the Iranians, it also conveys quite different orientation with apparent cultural roots. It seems that there is a strong tendency among Iranians to believe that the future is influenced by predestination: one may wish and hope, search and speculate, imagine



and dream about the future, but what it brings is fundamentally unknown yet predetermined. Future brings to mind a lot of dream and imagination from the Iranians but still they give importance to future in terms of progress, success and education which is part of preparing for the future.

High Frequency Iranian Themes

hope	omid	امید
unknown	namalum	نامعلوم
past	gozašte	گذشته
predestination	sarnevēst	سرنوشت
marriage	ezdevaj	ازدواج
death	marg	مرگ

SUMMARY

In the introduction of this chapter we discussed the role of a person's self concept in influencing his interpersonal relationships. The themes we have just analyzed help to reconstruct the self images characteristic of the American and Iranian groups.

Based on the self images which emerged in the context of me and self, we have found that both Americans and Iranians focus on the ego or self (I, me) with an intensity that exceeds practically all other groups studied up to this point (e.g., Koreans, Egyptians, Jordanians, Hispanic Americans, Slovenians, Puerto Ricans). This centering on the ego is particularly characteristic of the Anglo American (less so of Black Americans) and has been interpreted as a symbol of individualism. It has been observed in conjunction with an emphasis on personal needs and wants, a focus on "me-you" types of relations which stress the personal relationship between two individuals, little attention to group identification---what we may label a syndrome of Anglo American individualism.

In the case of the Iranian self image, however, these other traits of Anglo American individualism did not emerge. This indicates that the Iranians are about as ego-centered as the Americans without being individualistic in the same sense. For example, they do not see the self in a dyadic relationship with one other individual (e.g., me-you) but emphasize more the group or an indefinite third person. In terms of identification, they stress more the general notion of the self as a human being, which does not convey individualistic overtones. They also emphasize more social qualities---good, kind---rather than individual needs and wants.

An analysis of related value concepts, such as conscience and selfishness, further supports that the Iranians do not share some of these other traits of American individualism. The meaning of conscience is particularly informative in this respect. The Iranian notion does not stress the individual decisionmaking, the choice between right and wrong, as the American does. It is also quite

surprising to see that Iranians leave guilt completely out of consideration. In the American frame of reference guilt is directly attributed to the workings of one's conscience, an inescapable reaction which sets in whenever the individual makes a wrong choice. To the Iranians conscience is a fundamentally positive human disposition, a commitment to general human values. It is not a choice made by the self but rather a state of existence which is good by its very nature.

The American notion of personality is also imbued with the philosophy and outlook of an individualistic psychology, while for the Iranians the focus is on socially relevant attributes which account for social prestige and position.

A somewhat similar contrast is shown on the subject of selfishness. To Americans selfishness suggests the pursuit of individual gains---material and psychological---at the expense of another individual. To the Iranians selfishness implies the expressing of excessive pride, a social attitude implying superiority, placing oneself above others.

The other subjects explored in this domain reveal trends which are consistent with the above cultural syndromes. In general, Americans emphasize the individual's needs and wants, approaching the problem with regard to goals as well as behavior. With their emphasis on subjective individual needs and wants, Americans assume a psychological motivation approach to human goals and behavior. In contrast, the Iranians take an approach in which desiderata, wishes, and hopes play a greater role. Their emphasis is on social qualities, implications, and objectives, where the human being constitutes less a flesh-and-blood individual than a social unit, an actor conceived along moral and religious philosophies.

The above trends are fairly consistent and convey a rationale which has an inner logical consistency as well, but there seems to be an apparent contradiction in the Iranian position. They stress the ego or self almost to the same extent that individualistic Americans do, yet on other dimensions of the self image and on other traits, Iranians display a group or collective orientation characteristic of

practically all traditional cultures studied so far by the Associative Group Analysis method.

CHAPTER 4

FAMILY

Family is undoubtedly the most popular and widely studied subject of cultural anthropology. This concentration of interest naturally follows from the universal human importance of the family and family-based interpersonal relations. There is also a fascinating diversity in the institution of the family as it exists in various parts of the world. To reach beyond the many visible manifestations of family life by which different cultures are usually described, our assessment attempts to reconstruct the dominant patterns of intrafamilial relations.

There is a general agreement about the unique importance of the family in shaping the person, his world view, and interpersonal relations. Cultural dispositions, value orientations, norms and mores, and personality organization are all products of socialization experiences within the family. Leading authorities from Freud to Erickson proclaim that the child is the father of the adult; a person's potential to love, his ability or inability to establish rapport, and his prevalent patterns of interpersonal relations can be traced to early childhood experiences.

Does the relationship among family members differ substantially within American and Iranian families? Are the roles of husband, mother, child, the same, or do they function in different patterns of relationships? Are there identifiable differences in affective ties? Are there differences in interpersonal relations within the family which may affect interpersonal relations in society at large?

A natural source of differences comes from the intangible, subjective, and emotional nature of interpersonal relations. Outside observers whose cultural background differs from the people being observed are particularly disadvantaged in their efforts to interpret interpersonal attitudes, roles and relationships free from the biases and projections of their own cultural frame of reference.

FAMILY

FĀMIL - XĀNEVĀDE

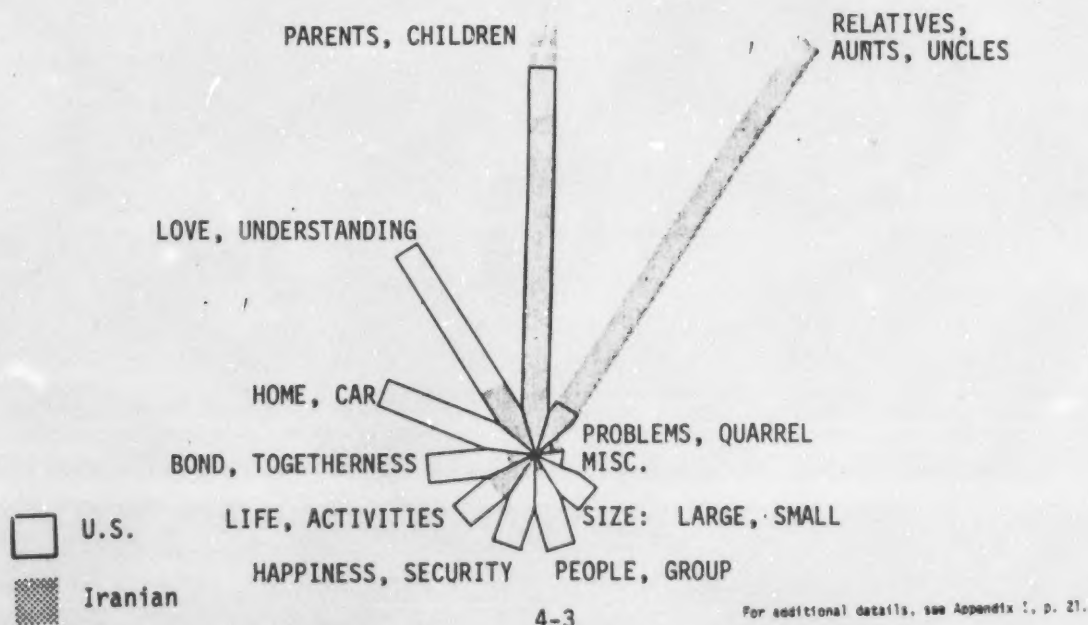
فامیل - خانواده

Parents and children universally represent the core idea of family. However, the Iranian word for family stresses parents and ancestors rather than children. The role of children in the traditional Iranian family focuses much more on the emotional level than the social level.

The western psychology of education is not yet ingrained or fully accepted by most middle or lower class Iranian families. Children are not treated as equals with older members of the family and often do not have a voice in selecting family activities. It is believed that children's activities should be controlled and they should not be free to do as they choose.

Love and affective values are directed mainly toward children and youngsters, and the emotional dimension receives little attention in the context of family. In the literature poets have treated love at two very different levels for many hundreds of years: first as the love of youth with all its drunkenness and lightness and second as love at old age with wisdom, the love of God, and the whole philosophy of Sufism and its mysticism.

The lack of emotional response appears particularly strong in comparison with Arabs who assign great importance to love and



respect within the family.* It is also surprising that the idea of friendship is more predominant than love since more emphasis on friendship usually suggests a less emotional, more egalitarian relationship.

A look at family members reveals that Americans have the nuclear family in mind. In contrast, the Iranians conceive of the family as a much wider network of relatives; aunts and uncles play an exceptionally important role in their view.

Compared to the Iranians, the Americans are more concrete and object-bound, considering home, house, car, and other material belongings of the family. The Americans associate family with togetherness and with activities which are characteristic manifestations of togetherness. In contrast to the Americans' interest in recreational activities and personal celebrations, the Iranians pay little explicit attention to this dimension of family life, probably taking some of its manifestations for granted. In considering the family, Americans think more not only of love and warmth but of happiness and security as well.

High Frequency Iranian Themes

aunt	xāle	خاله
uncle	dā'i	دائی
relatives	xišāvand	خویشاوند
father	pedar	پدر
mother	mādar	مادر
friend	dust	دوست

* Lorand B. Szalay et al., U.S.-Arabic Communication Lexicon of Cultural Meanings, 1978, Chapter 4.

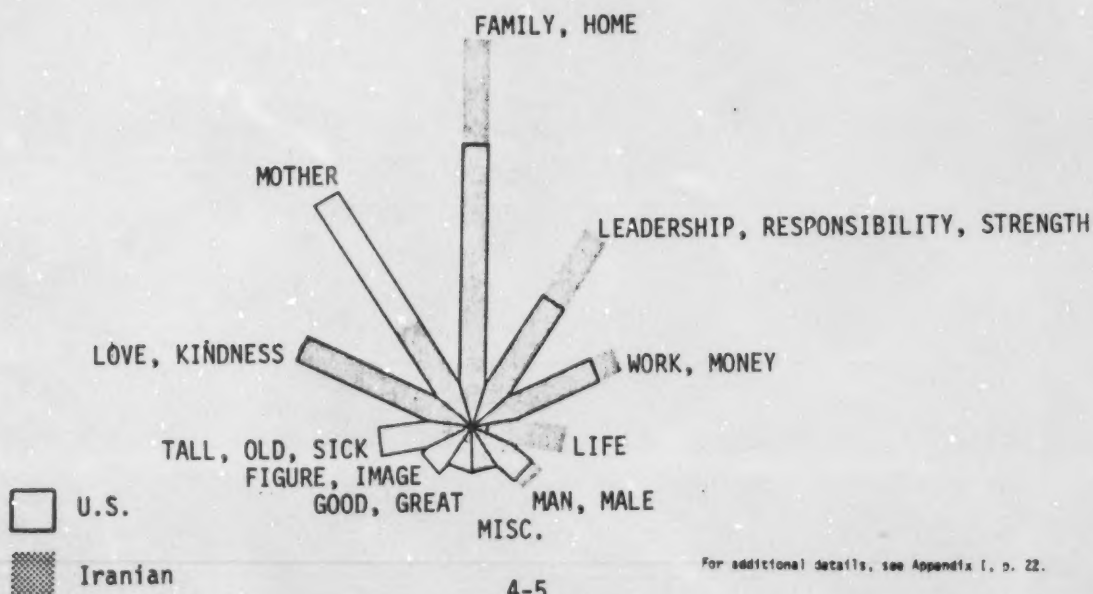
FATHER

PEDAR

پدر

The Iranians' image of the father contains several expected role characteristics---guardian, leader, responsibility---depicting an authority figure who is strong and conscientious. Yet it also includes other personality characteristics which stress affection: kind, lovable, friend. The Iranians see a particularly close relationship between the father and family, particularly the children. The Americans, on the other hand, see the father in close relationship to mother. The fact that the Iranians do not emphasize this relationship probably indicates that the two roles are more differentiated in their minds. The father-mother connection appears to be the dominant one to Americans but in the case of the Iranians this relationship seems to be counter-balanced by the strong father-child connection.

Their emphasis on the father-child relationship may help to explain the salience of positive identification (affection, kindness) in the Iranian image of the father. The intensity of this emotional identification appears in combination with characteristics which convey authority and discipline. As guardian and protector, he assumes a strong role in the raising of children. In line with this function, authority and strictness do receive some attention but the main focus is on the father's responsibility and leadership qualities.



For additional details, see Appendix I, p. 22.

The psychological importance of the father for the Iranians is underlined by the richness of their reactions. As the head of the family, father represents family and home with a very strong stress on "life". He has the responsibility for decision making, life style, the economic support and all the authority which is involved. Along with this authority and discipline there is a strong stress on love and kindness. His dominant roles still remain: the leader, the guardian, the responsible, the protector and defender.

As is also evident in the perceptions of husband and man, leadership, responsibility, work, and money are more associated with father among Iranians than among Americans. In the Iranian mind, while the mother can be all love and affection, the father is considered to be the serious leader who has the welfare of the family in mind. With these responsibilities, he may have to sacrifice his own individual needs. This is how he becomes strong and kind.

High Frequency Iranian Themes

mother	mādar	مادر
kindness	mehraban	مهربانی
children	bačehā	بچه‌ها
man	mard	مرد
breadwinner	nanāvar	نان آور
home	xane	خانه

MOTHER

MĀDAR

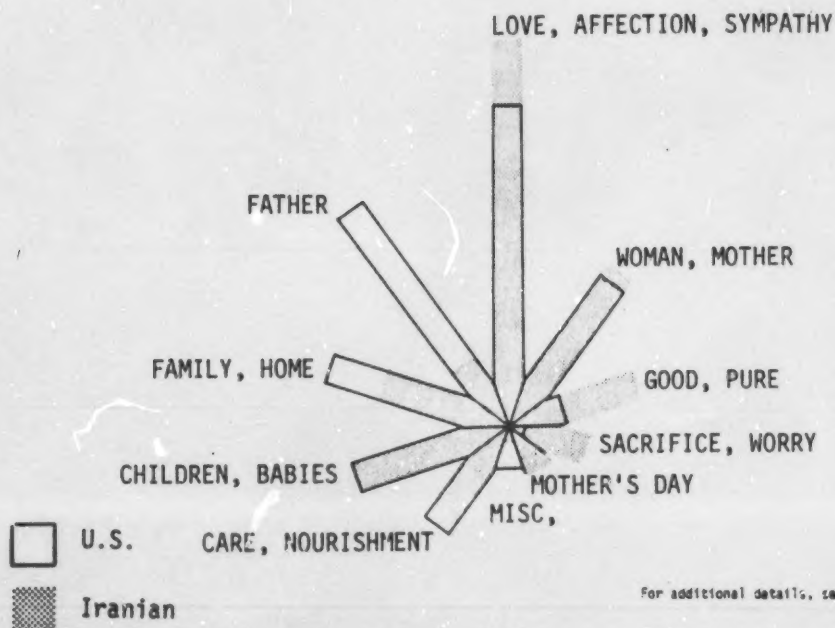
مادر

Kindness, sympathy, devotion, and friendship are particularly salient qualities of mother for Iranians; love, warmth, and understanding for Americans. The Iranians also see goodness and purity as important attributes of a mother.

The Americans' image of mother is closely tied to father, while for the Iranians this connection is much weaker. This points to the disparate views among the culture groups toward family. For Americans the family is the outgrowth of a personal relationship between a man and a woman which it is hoped will continue to flourish, while for the Iranians family has a broader institutional foundation.

As each parent's role is quite definite in the Iranian family, there is not much confusion for the child about his relationship to mother and father. The more these two roles are defined, the more each parent is conceived as an independent entity by the child.

Americans as well as Iranians view mother in the context of the home. The general attention given to childbirth, babies, and children is about the same for Americans and Iranians. The Iranians think of the



For additional details, see Appendix I, p. 23.

mother as making sacrifices and being worried. Despite the much discussed hegemony of the father in the Middle East, the richness of the Iranian reactions to mother indicate her exceptional psychological importance.

The principal traits in the Iranian mother can be described as follows: She gives birth and that is the beginning of life. The concept of "life starts in the womb" is understood and accepted as a medical fact but the real impact of life comes with the child's birth. She has a peaceful affectionate life of love, compassion and sacrifice, nursing babies and helping them grow. There is the same amount of care and nourishment indicated by American and Iranian groups. To Iranians motherhood is the purest human role. Sons are given a higher status than daughters, as indicated in the data.

"Heaven is where a mother stands" is a famous Iranian expression describing the importance of the goodness, purity and sacrifice of the mother. Mother is considered more of a creator of children than is father. Mother is the one who sacrifices her own comfort and happiness in order to give birth to a child and then spends the rest of her life concerned about her children.*

High Frequency Iranian Themes

father	pedar	پدر
son	pesar	پسر
love	ēšq	عشق
mother's day	ruze mādar	روز مادر
sympathy	delsuzi	دلسوزی
sacrifice	fadākāri	فداکاری

* P. M. Holt et al., eds., *The Cambridge History of Islam*, Volume 2 (London: Cambridge University Press, 1969), p. 569.

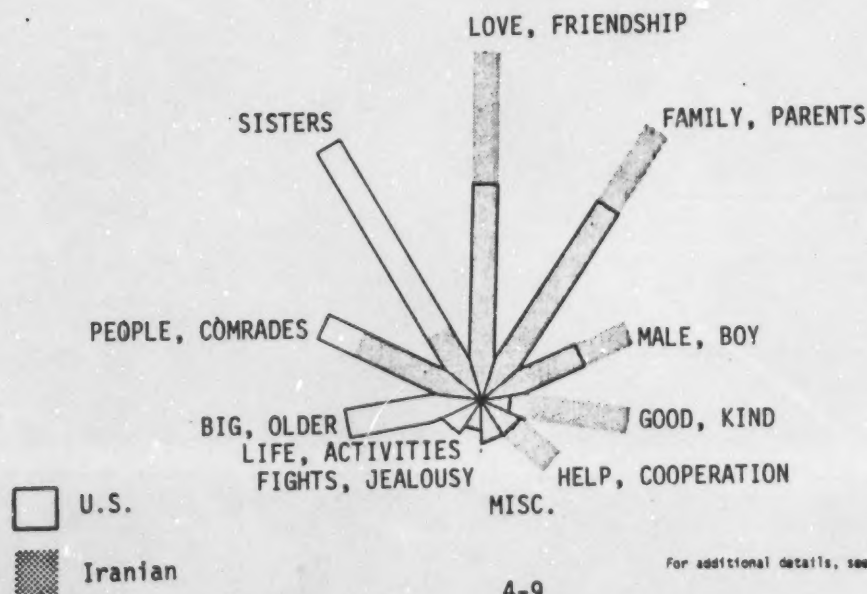
BROTHER

BARĀDAR

برادر

The importance of brothers to the Iranian group somewhat naturally follows from the value placed on male children in this generally male-oriented culture. Their image of brother is similar in many respects to their image of father. Generally, if necessary, the eldest brother would take the place of the father in the family. Thus, brothers have a strong relationship to family members, particularly blood relatives. Americans see a particularly close relationship between brothers and sisters, just as they see a close relationship between father and mother. Again, this reflects the American tendency to see people in contrasting sexual identities.

The Iranians place a particularly strong emphasis on friendship and love, conveying a strong positive identification. It is interesting to note that while friendship is an important element of this identification for both Americans and Iranians, the relationship between brother and family is particularly strong for the Iranians. A very good friend or partner is often called brother by Iranians. This means that a friend has all the love and respect expected of a brother. Also cooperation and interaction with brothers are more important to this group, conveying the importance of relying on members of one's own family. Brothers are characterized as good, kind,



For additional details, see Appendix I, p. 24.

compassionate; in other words, they stress universal human qualities rather than such stereotypically male characteristics as strength and bravery. This characterization which carries little masculine accent is surprising since it seemingly contradicts the observation that maleness receives emphatic recognition among Iranians. This observation is consistent with others registered in the context of father and other male roles that the Iranians do stress general human qualities rather than simple sex role stereotypes.

High Frequency Iranian Themes

friend	dust	دوست
comrade	rafiq	رفیق
father	pedar	پدر
sisters	xāharān	خواهران
boy	pesar	پسر
kindness	mehrabān	مهربانی

SISTER

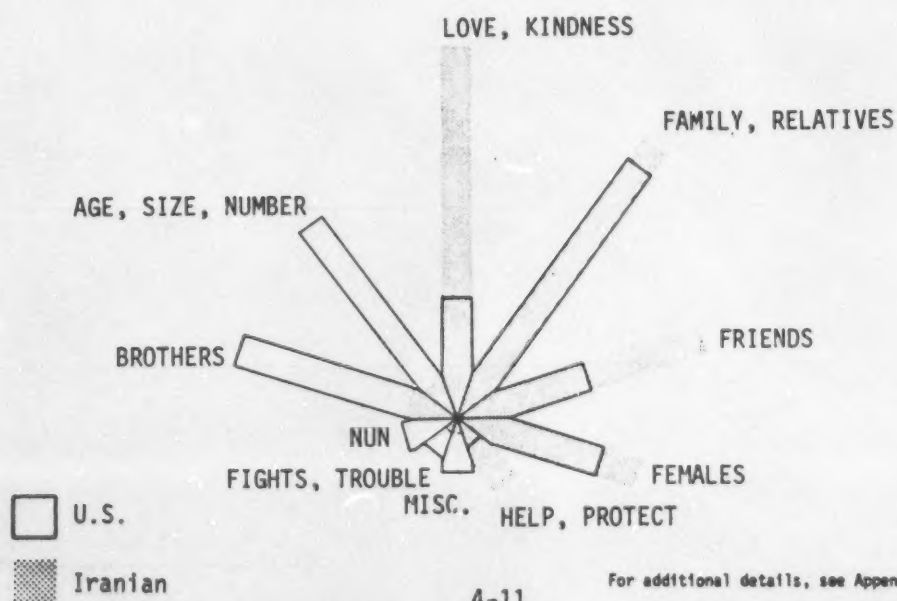
XĀHAR

خواهر

The cultural differences between Americans and Iranians in their perception of sisters are similar to those observed in the context of mother and brothers. Contrasting with the relatively stronger Iranian identification of sisters with the family in general, the Americans see sisters in particularly close relationship to brothers. This reflects the American cultural disposition to view people in contrasting sex roles and to emphasize intergenerational differences and intragenerational similarities. It may also be influenced by the American tendency to think in terms of contrasting alternatives.

The Iranian reactions of love, kindness, sympathy, affection, and faithfulness indicate strong emotional identification. Friendship is prominent for both groups particularly so for the Iranians. The Iranian attention given to help shows preoccupation with protection and responsibility and is consistent with the prevailing cultural view to regard women as the repositories of family honor. It may also reflect the common practice of letting sisters assume some of the maternal responsibilities toward younger siblings.

A sister is also considered weaker by her Iranian parents and brothers. In the Iranian logic, love and kindness are given to



sisters both in terms of a female as a future wife and mother who is expected to give love and in terms of a female as a weaker individual family member who deserves to receive love and kindness from others.

An interesting difference between the American and Iranian imagery is the attention Americans pay to age, size, number, and other physical attributes of sisters in contrast to the Iranian concern with human, social attributes which are more abstract and idealized. These differences naturally reveal more about culturally predisposed perceptions than about the actual characteristics of sisters in the two countries.

High Frequency Iranian Themes

kindness	mehrabāni	مهربانی
friend	dust	دوست
girls	doxtarān	دختران
mother	mādar	مادر
family	fāmil	فامیل
brothers	barādarān	برادران

HOME

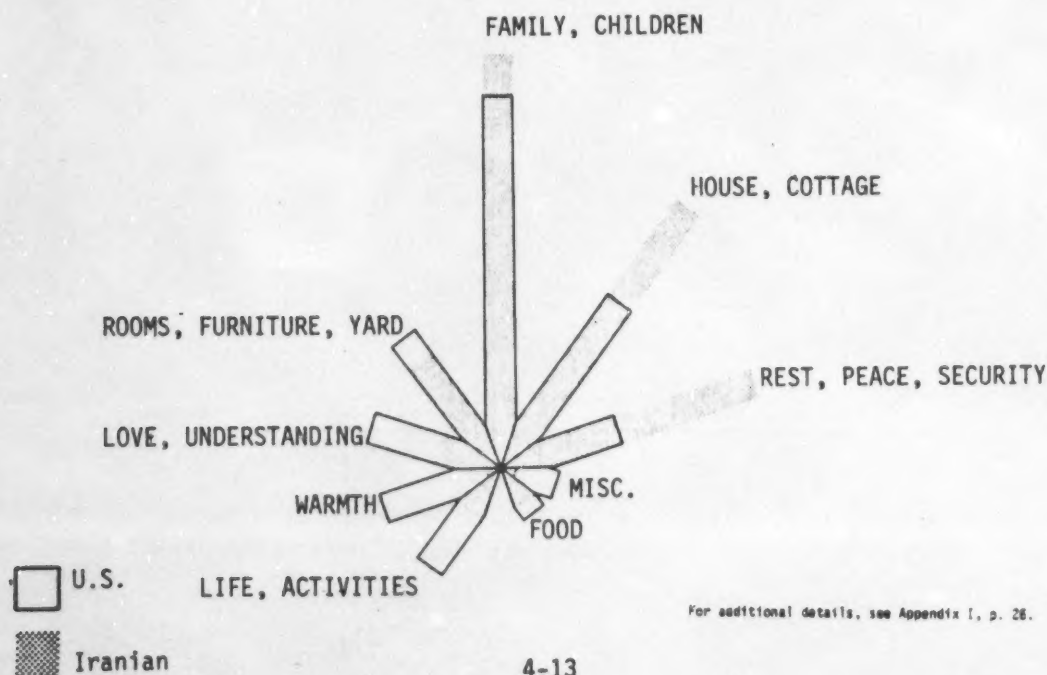
MANZEL منزل

For both Americans and Iranians, home is the social environment of the family. Here again father gets slightly more attention than mother and the children very little from the Iranian group. It is significant to note that it is the nuclear family which the Iranians have in mind here. Home for both groups also refers to the physical milieu: the house, furniture, yard, trees, etc.

With regard to the affective emotional climate, the American emphasis on love and warmth is distinctly stronger than the Iranian.

In general, the Iranians emphasize the house and physical environment more, while the affective emotional atmosphere appears to be more important to Americans. In the mind of Americans, home conjures up certain activities and events of family life, including meals and holidays; these elements are less salient to the Iranian group. A single word which would imply what "home" does in English does not exist in most languages. This may go back to the American history and the settlement of the families.

For the Iranians, much more so than for Americans, home is associated with rest, relaxation, and peacefulness. The Iranian



For additional details, see Appendix I, p. 26.

speaks about home as a shelter from the outside world to give peace and security to the family. The word manzel (home, house) in Farsi is also traditionally used to indicate family. Thus, through the association with "family" and children, love, understanding and other affective elements are present.*

Home in Farsi is also used in place of country of origin. Just as a home is a place with which a member of a family is associated, a home meaning homeland is the geographical area to which one belongs.

Iranians feel a deep sense of privacy in relation to their home but interestingly it is not mentioned here by either group. The Iranian home, however, always has a private family part that the guest never sees and a guest room that is much nicer than the rest of the house and kept only for guests. Very close friends and relatives are allowed in the family part of the home by Iranians.

High Frequency Iranian Themes

house	xāne	خانه
family	xānevade	خانواده
rest	ésterāhat	استراحت
father	pedar	پدر
mother	mādar	مادر
quietness	sokut-ārāme	سکوت - آرامی

* James A. Bill and Carl Leiden, The Middle East Politics and Power (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1974), pp. 60-79.

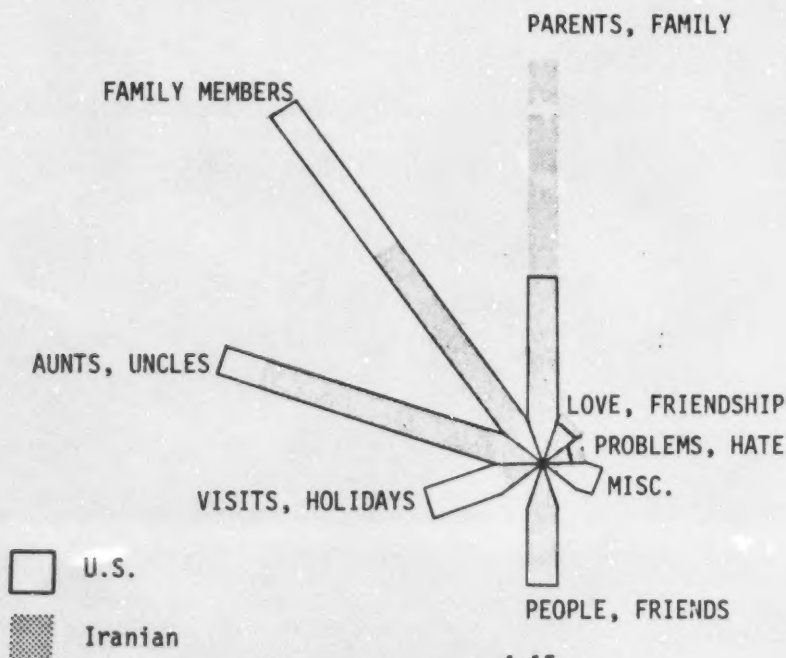
RELATIVES

GOWMOXIŠ قوم و خویش

Relatives include a variety of close as well as distant family members. While the father and mother or parents receive about the same attention from American and Iranians, there is a particularly strong tie between relatives and family for the latter. This suggests a much closer relationship existing between relatives, almost the same quality as perceived in parent and family.

The Farsi expression for "relatives" literally means "tribe and self," a close relationship between a group of people in the society who are related either by blood or by marriage. It refers more to the idea of group-belonging than to position within the family structure. This aspect of the usage explains the Iranian's emphasis on parents and family in general in contrast to the American interest in various categories of relatives (cousins, aunts, uncles, grandparents).

In regard to the emotional context of the relationship, both groups make relatively few references to love or friendship. There is little indication of emotional involvement or that relatives are much a part of their daily lives. For Americans the role of relatives is limited mainly to special occasions such as visits at



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For additional details, see Appendix I, p. 27.

Christmas, Thanksgiving, etc. Negative reactions are also relatively weak.

This lack of positive emotional identification with relatives is particularly surprising with respect to the Iranian group, who represent a relatively traditional society that is frequently characterized by its affinity to Arab-Muslim cultures. As we have found recently in a U.S.-Egyptian-Jordanian comparison (Szalay et al., 1978), relatives inspire a great deal of emotion for Arab groups. Love, understanding, and loyalty are very salient as are such negative feelings as envy and hate. These findings suggest that to the Arabs, relatives are not merely occasional guests but people in close active interaction, cooperating, helping, and promoting common interests.

For the Iranians, the concept of relatives does stand for a whole set of values like: "I stand by you, I help you, and I back you up; after all, we are gowmoxis" (relatives). In some cases this could be a very distant family relation, still indicating a closer tie than between people who do not have any kind of common relative.

High Frequency Iranian Themes

family	gowm	قوم
aunts	xālehā - ammeḥā	خاله‌ها - عمه‌ها
uncles	dā'ihā - āmuhā	دائی‌ها - عموها
cousin	pesardā'i	پسر دائی
acquaintance	'āšna	آشنا
party	mehmāni	مهمانی

ANCESTORS

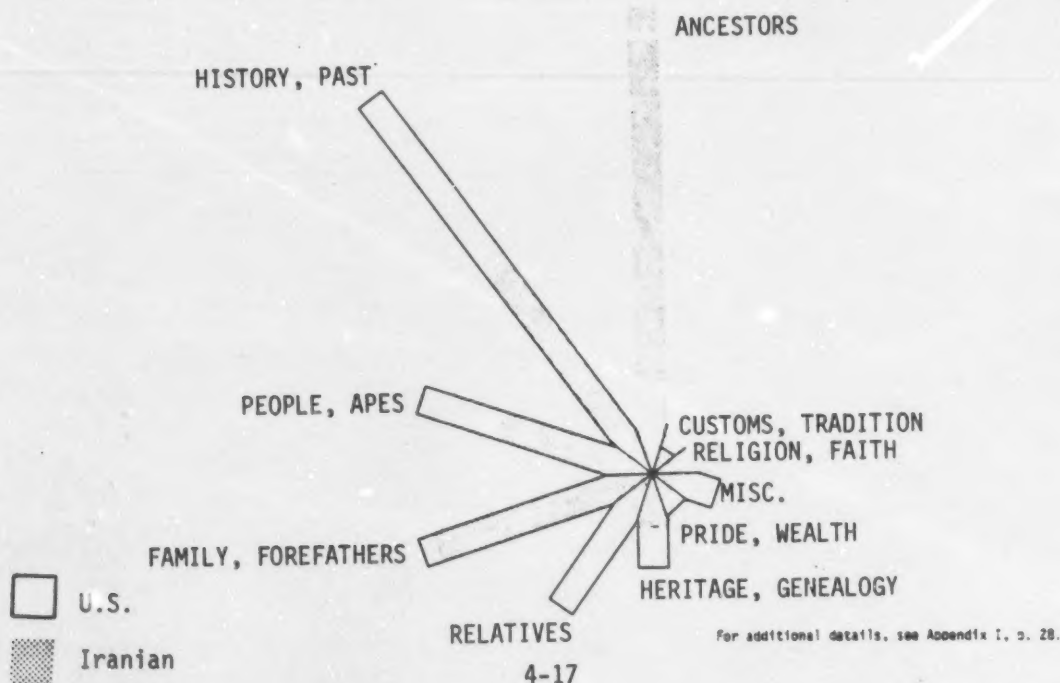
اجداد AJDĀD

Forefathers and family ties play important roles in the image of ancestors for both Iranians and Americans. Americans stress the family and relatives and give slightly more attention to heritage and genealogy. They think of practically all nationalities populating Europe, but apes actually get the most attention. Iranians think primarily of race, their national origin.

Iranians identify not only lines of descent but also how various families are related to one another through blood or marriage.

In their image of ancestors, both Iranians and Americans show some awareness of customs and tradition, and some milder indication of positive identification (pride). The idea of the ancient past and history is particularly salient for Americans. The Iranians show a slight disposition to think of ancestors in a religious context as well.

Ancestor appears to have some particularly close synonyms in Farsi. The meaning of ājdad (ancestors) is the same as forefathers. This word is the plural form of jad which means either the "father of grandfather" or "grandfather several generations back." Jad used in combination with niyakan almost always refers to the



oldest human background, civilization and culture. It directly implies human forefathers and indirectly everything related to past history and culture. There is a great element of respect (as for the old and experienced) along with nobility and pride.

While Americans place all the diverse beings, human and infra-human, into the same bag, with special attention given to foreigners, the Iranians focus on the human race and nobility.

High Frequency Iranian Themes

race	nasl - nežād	نسل - نژاد
past	gozašte	گذشته
history	tārix	تاریخ
grandfather	pedar bozorg	پدر بزرگ
inheritance	mirás	میراث

SUMMARY

Our comparative analysis of American and Iranian perceptions and attitudes in regard to family indicates that although along several dimensions this comparison fits into the general pattern of a modern versus traditional contrast, the Iranians still represent a highly individual case.

With regard to the scope of the family the Iranian position is generally more traditional. To the Iranians the family involves a much wider network of relatives. Interest is focused on the relationship between parents and children. This is in contrast to the American emphasis on the horizontal father-mother relationship, reflecting the social relations of a modern industrial society. The critical tie within the American nuclear family is the direct personal relationship between husband and wife. In the Iranian family the relationship of father and mother is less dependent on affective ties; it is determined primarily by a broad network of roles and functions. While in most traditional societies the parent-child relationship is in the center of interest, in the case of the Iranian culture this emphasis is less apparent.

The Iranians show here some distinct differences when compared with Arabs. In the Arab view, the family is supported by interdependent adults who work together to maintain their existence, group cohesion, and solidarity.* The Arab family is not a private sphere but a wider social organization through which much of the daily work and business is pursued. The Iranians do not stress family as a cooperative unit of survival nor as a unit of work organization.

In the American social environment, the identity, welfare, and future career of the individual are viewed as being dependent on the person himself rather than on his family. As Francis Hsu points out, in the process of growing up the American individual gradually separates himself from the family and pursues his own objectives independently.**

In the Arab world the existence of the family is not a matter of free choice of two marriage partners. It is solidly founded on an extended network of highly institutionalized, closely knit role relations. In most instances the welfare and happiness of the individual is inseparable from the welfare and happiness of the family. The Iranians assume a position between the American and the Arab as exemplified by Egyptians and Jordanians.*

In regard to emotional identification with the family, the Iranians appear to be closer to the Americans than to the Arabs. The Arab group showed intensive affective involvement and positive identification with family in general as well as with particular family members. They expressed strong feelings of love, affection, tenderness, faithfulness, loyalty, etc. The Iranians make surprisingly few references to love in the context of specific family members, with the exception of mother. Kindness appears to be the most salient personality attribute with respect to all family members examined. Iranians speak more of friendship than of love. Compared to the Arabs as well as to Americans, the Iranians' emphasis on affective ties and attributes is consistently lower.

These findings suggest that for the Iranians family relations are less emphatically affect-laden than for Americans. Comparable findings on other culture groups such as Koreans and Slovenians were interpreted as an indication that their family relations are not void of affects but are less dependent on them than in the U.S. In traditional cultures family is more a social institution whose stability and existence does not depend on emotional ties, on the mutual love of the marriage partners, as it does in American society.

The Iranians' emphasis on friendship, particularly in relation to father and mother, indicates a certain degree of egalitarian-democratic value orientation which appears somewhat unexpected in face of the frequent characterizations of the Iranian family as patriarchal, male-dominated and authoritarian.

Although their characterization of father includes qualities of

authority and leadership, the Iranians do not stress these attributes more than the Americans do. At the same time social and egalitarian qualities also appear particularly salient in their image of father. This does not mean that the prototypical Iranian father role does not have authoritarian attributes, only that in the eyes of our student group these qualities are outweighed by such human qualities as kindness, friendship and love.

It is also interesting to observe that Iranians view the father in particularly strong relationship to children. Again, although traditional societies are frequently characterized by sharp sex-role differentiation, the results suggest that the Iranian images of mother and father do not convey more emphatic sex role differences than the American.

* Lorand B. Szalay et al., U.S.-Arabic Communication Lexicon of Cultural Meanings, 1978.

** Francis L. K. Hsu, Americans and Chinese: Purpose and Fulfillment in Great Civilizations (New York: Doubleday, 1970).

CHAPTER 5

MARRIAGE

When approached from the American cultural viewpoint, it is not easy to conceive of marriage as something other than the association of two individuals bound by mutual love. Americans generally feel that a marriage cannot be genuine if it was not a personal decision based predominantly on love. The practice of prearranged marriages in the Middle East and other traditional societies is viewed as a disregard if not violation of the feelings and free will of the marriage partners.

Our psychocultural studies of Hispanic Americans, Egyptians, and Filipinos have clearly demonstrated that there are indeed some fundamental cultural differences in people's approaches to marriage. The cultural views show particularly important variations in two main dimensions: the affective/emotional nature of the relationship (love, sexual desire) and the social ties between husband and wife. Americans generally take an individualistic approach in which marriage is a personal act in contrast to the more traditional approach which regards marriage as a social institution. These positions were found in particularly sharp contrast in the recent U.S.-Arabic comparative study.

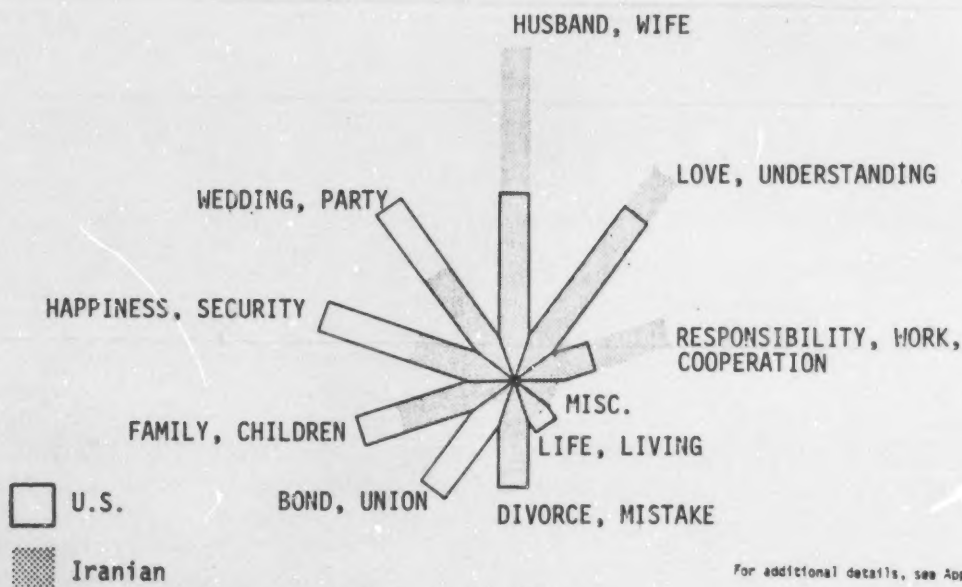
In view of the tendency of Americans to overlook important psychocultural variations in the Middle East among Arabs as well as between Arabs and Iranians, the earlier chapters were informative in showing that Arab-Iranian views are often just as far apart as the Arab-American. Furthermore, since the Iranian students have shown some individualistic attitudes, their views on marriage and on other relationships with the opposite sex deserve closer attention. Certain important roles such as husband, wife, child, and related values such as understanding and togetherness are examined here.

MARRIAGE

ÉZDEVĀJ ازدواج

To both groups marriage is both a specific event and a long-term relationship. Americans show more interest than the Iranians in the act of getting married. The attention given to the wedding ceremony may be a reflection of the American disposition to be event-centered, action-oriented, and interested in outcomes. To Americans the emotional benefits of marriage are particularly important, especially feeling loved, happy and secure.

The Farsi word for marriage, ezdevaj, is derived from zowj meaning the couple partner or the couple companion; ezdevaj more nearly means "forming a couple." There is a strong underlying idea of assistance and co-operation in forming a couple, which is very significant. Marriage for Iranians is a social and family commitment and carries a high degree of responsibility. It is less based on the individualistic view of marriage as a goal towards personal happiness and security. Both parties in an Iranian marriage are ready to face hardship in order to build a family hearth. Usually the man deals with the outside world problems and the wife handles the inside tasks. Marriage is viewed as a binding relationship in which the couple faces the world as a team and not as two individuals concerned with their own needs and their own satisfaction and happiness. Both are usually proud to work towards



For additional details, see Appendix I, p. 29.

a common goal which is the happiness of their companion, the children, and the whole family.

Love is an important element of marriage for Iranians as well, but its salience is counterbalanced by such human qualities as kindness, understanding, and sincerity. These qualities bear on social attitudes central to their focus on the relationship of man and woman, the personal rapport between the marriage partners. It is consistent with this focus that they stress the importance of responsibility, cooperation, and commitment in marriage.

Generally speaking, Americans emphasize the strong emotional bond between husband and wife, while the Iranians stress the interpersonal attitudes needed to fulfill the obligations of marriage. The cultural differences observed here are relatively large, and they are consistent with those found in the context of family. From the American perspective family is built primarily on the affective ties between the marriage partners, while from the Iranian perspective family is viewed more as a social institution founded on traditional socially prescribed role relations.

High Frequency Iranian Themes

woman	zan	زن
love	ēšq	عشق
man	mard	مرد
ring	halqe - āngoštār	حلقه - انگشتر
baby	bače	بچه
divorce	talāq	طلاق

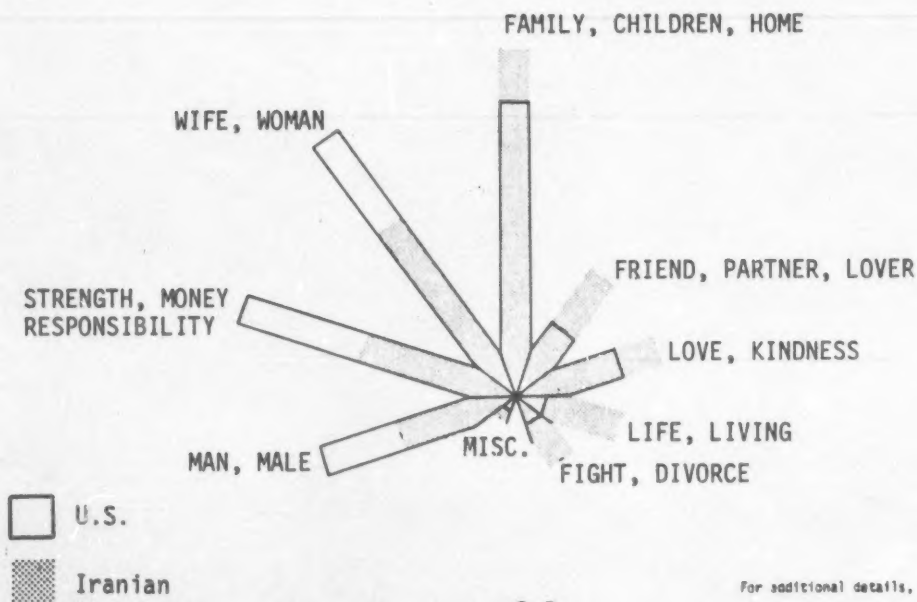
HUSBAND

ŠOHAR

شوهر

To Americans the single most salient attribute of a husband is his wife. The husband-wife nexus has been found to be at the very core of the American idea of family in many other cross-cultural comparisons. It stands in contrast to the traditional conceptualization of family in which more emphasis is placed on the parent-child relationship, as is the case here with the Iranians. The Americans view the roles of husband and wife in a closer, more direct relationship than do the Iranians. For them the relationship has a stronger foundation in the family as the main source of cohesion. The word husband relates to wife very naturally for Americans but as far as the Iranians are concerned, inside the family the role of the husband is the predominant one with emphasis on love, kindness and life partner. The word šohar (husband) is interchangeable with hamsar, meaning spouse and equal. The same expression is used for both sex spouses, and the idea of equality in this expression is most interesting to be considered. Although the roles of husband and wife are very different in an Iranian marriage, there is a certain pride in indicating equality.

The American expression "husband and wife" is reversed in Farsi into zan o šohar, wife and husband. Any expression of respect or



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For additional details, see Appendix I, p. 30.

disrespect towards the wife is also considered to be directed toward the husband, and it is the husband who feels obliged to respond. In thinking of both husband and wife, the Iranians show more concern than the Americans with the possibility of divorce. This may be explained as a reaction to a less common phenomenon.

There are no references to sex from the Iranians under this stimulus word. References to responsibility in the context of husband and wife are in separate areas of life which indicate a clear role-oriented approach. Some of the key words may clarify the Iranians tendency towards a strongly male oriented society. Iranians describe the husband as boss, superior and selfish, while the wife is described in terms of faithfulness, sacrifice and subordination.

As a somewhat unexpected finding, the Americans emphasize the male sex role stereotype, stressing the husband's maleness, strength, leadership, and his role as money maker and provider. The Iranians pay more attention to the husband's social qualities such as kindness and goodness and to his role as friend, companion, and partner--- qualities with apparent egalitarian connotations. However, the Iranians also show more concern with family problems arising from the husband's negative qualities (selfish, foolish).

High Frequency Iranian Themes

woman	zan	زن
male	mozakar	مذكر
children	farzandān	فرزندان
father	pedar	پدر
marriage	ēzdevāj	ازدواج
kindness	mehrabāni	مهربانی

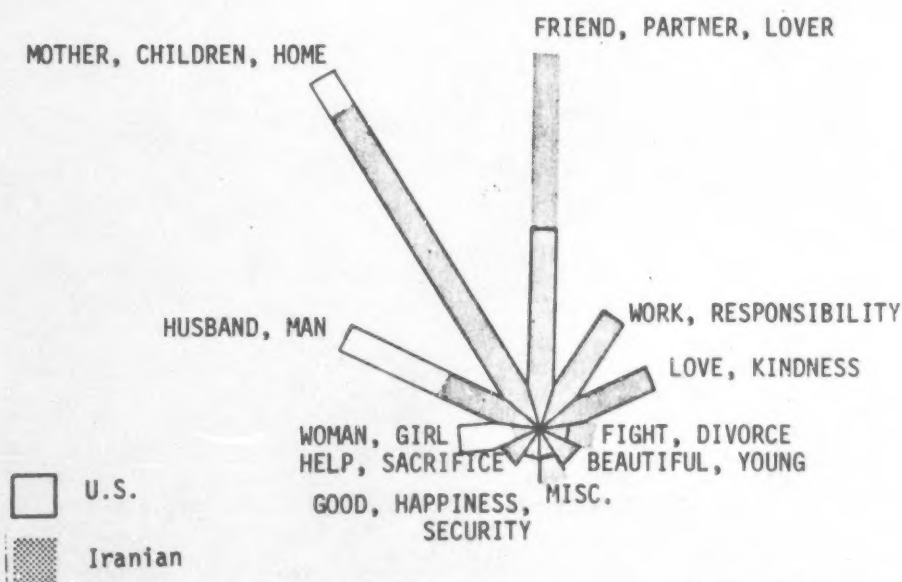
WIFE
ZAN - ĀYĀL زن-عیال

For both culture groups the images of wife and mother are closely interrelated. Here the American emphasis on the home appears to be stronger, while the Iranians emphasize more the interpersonal relations. As we found in the context of husband, Americans place a particularly strong emphasis on the husband-wife relationship.

The Farsi word zan means woman, very similar to the French word, femme, and its meaning is determined by context of use. Wife in Iran may also be referred to by the husband as "my home," "my clan and people," and as hamsar, spouse and equal. This last expression is still used very often in more formal situations. The Iranian wife refers to her husband with such expressions as aga(sir) or sarvar (master, leader), which are self explanatory.

Love, kindness, friendship and companionship are stressed by the Iranians as well as the wife's physical appearance, her beauty and elegance. These characteristics of the Iranian wife point to the importance given to her more social role. Again, there is no reference to sex.

There is almost the same amount of responsibility stressed for both husband and wife but covering clearly distinct areas, indicating



the role differences between husband and wife in an Iranian marriage. While in the Iranian view the husband is the center of attraction in society, the wife is the center within the family and often among relatives. In the eyes of the Iranians the social, personal qualities of the wife appear to be particularly important---her kindness, faithfulness and devotion---while for Americans love is the all encompassing concept. The special importance Iranians assign to the wife's role as friend and partner links further support to the observation that fostering the interpersonal relationship of husband and wife is their central idea of marriage. Work and responsibility are about equally emphasized by both culture groups but again sex role differences receive somewhat more attention from Americans. In general, Americans and Iranians agree more on their images of wife than on their images of husband. Compared to the Arabs in their image of wife, the Iranians do not show the same strong propensity for affective identification and idealization.

High Frequency Iranian Themes

mother	mādar	مادر
spouse	hamsar	همسر
husband	šohar	شوهر
kindness	mehrabāni	مهربانی
children	farzandān	فرزندان
companion	munes - hamdam	مونس - همدم

CHILD

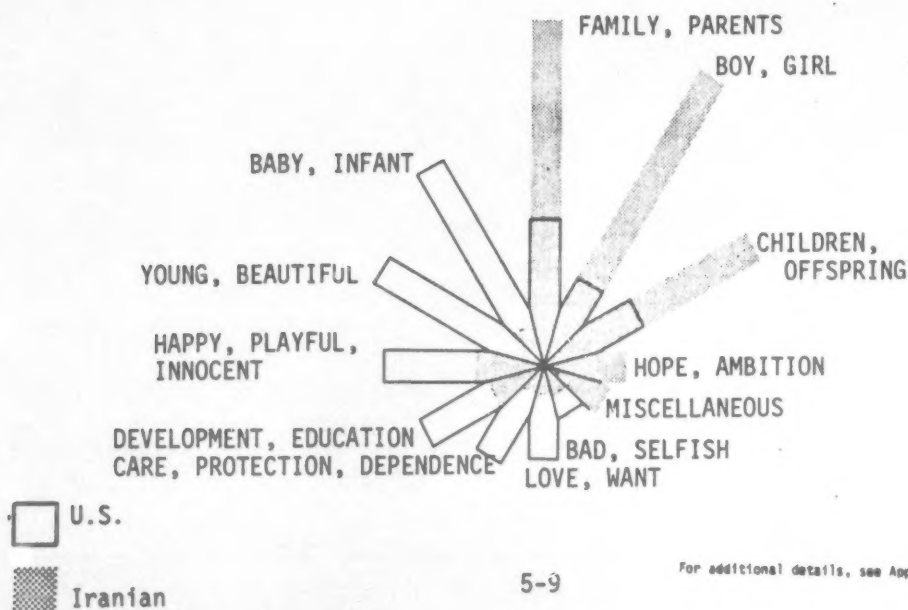
FARZAND

فرزند

The American concept of the child is associated with birth and babies and the period of infancy. Their focus on this early period is also clearly reflected in their description of a child as being small, young, little.

Another word for child in Farsi is bacce. While in English child can refer to any child or to a child born to a couple, in Farsi there is a separate expression for a child born to a couple, farzand, a neutral and asexual word for which there is no distinct translation equivalent in English. In the context of marriage, the natural inclination, then, would be to use farzand, "child born to a couple".

The Iranians' emphasis on son and daughter serves to specify the more general expression of "child". To the Iranians a child is any boy or girl, with no special emphasis on very early childhood. The Iranians place the child in contrast to the adult, specifically his father and mother. While the parent-child nexus has been described as the main organizational axis of the Iranian family, it is possible that this contrast reflects a philosophy in which the child is viewed not merely as a young human being but as a separate entity with his own distinct attributes as well as needs. The Iranians make a sharp



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For additional details, see Appendix I, p. 32.

distinction based on the sex of the child, placing more importance on boys than on girls.

Americans stress developmental dimensions of childhood, such as growing and learning. Probably because of their focus on young age, Americans pay more attention to the dependence of the child and to his care and protection. This may also explain why Americans think apparently more of toys and playing and of innocence and naivete. The Iranians think of the child's social qualities: lovable, kind, good.

In the mind of Iranians the child remains the property of the parents much more than among Americans. A mature adult is still called "a child" or "my child" by his parents. This is why, generally speaking, the independence of a child comes at a much later stage in life in Iran as compared to America. While it is not unusual for a sixteen year old American to have a job and a personal income, it is not at all unusual to see a twenty-six year old Iranian receiving pocket money from his parents.

While the Americans express strong emotional attachment to children (i.e., love), the Iranians see them as representing hopes, ambition and the future. In the Iranian mind children are a symbol of basic influence over the future and life in general.

High Frequency Iranian Themes

boy	pesar	پسر
mother	mādar	مادر
father	pedar	پدر
family	xānevāde	خانواده
life	zendegi	زندگی
hope	ōmid	امید

UNDERSTANDING

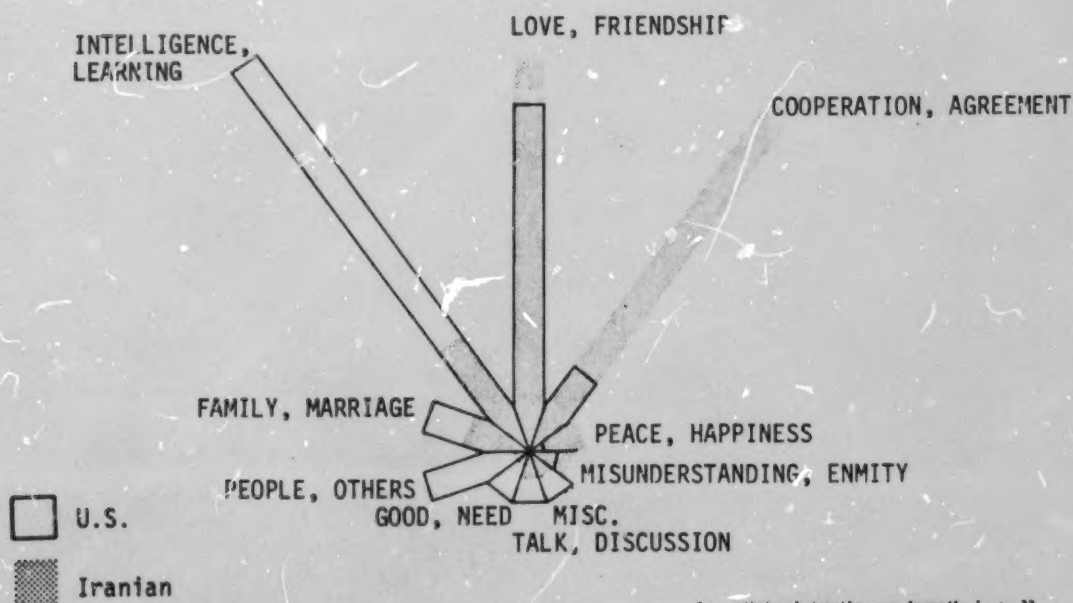
TAFĀHOM

تفاهم

The major cultural difference noted here is in the interest expressed in the intellectual and humanistic aspects of understanding--- the first generally characterizing the Americans and the second, the Iranians. Although the Farsi word tafahom includes both meanings, because there is another specific expression which is used to refer to the ability to communicate a certain idea (fahmidan), tafahom emphasizes more interpersonal empathy in a relationship.

Americans view understanding largely as a matter of intellectual performance; they give far greater significance to the place of knowledge, comprehension and learning in understanding. With their emphasis on attitudinal, motivational dimensions, the Iranians pay far less attention to these intellectual factors.

The Iranians emphasize such human social qualities as kinness and sincerity, and in this perspective understanding is an essential part of friendship, much more so than to Americans. The Iranians emphasize such human social qualities as kindness and sincerity, and in this perspective understanding implies a willingness to recognize the views and needs of others, to come to an agreement and be of the same mind. Through cooperation and agreement understanding leads to the resolution of differences.



Understanding among Iranians has the meanings of accepting, communicating, agreeing, feeling and conforming. To understand another person means that one can put himself in the other's position and can appreciate the position from which he speaks. Accepting and conforming are also related meanings because Iranians consider it polite to agree with a person they respect and accept their point of view.

High Frequency Iranian Themes

friends	dustān	دوستان
of the same mind	hamfekri	همفکری - همفکر
sincerity	yekrangi	یکرنگی
harmony	sāześ	سازش
kindness	mehrabāni	مهربانی
perception	dark	درك

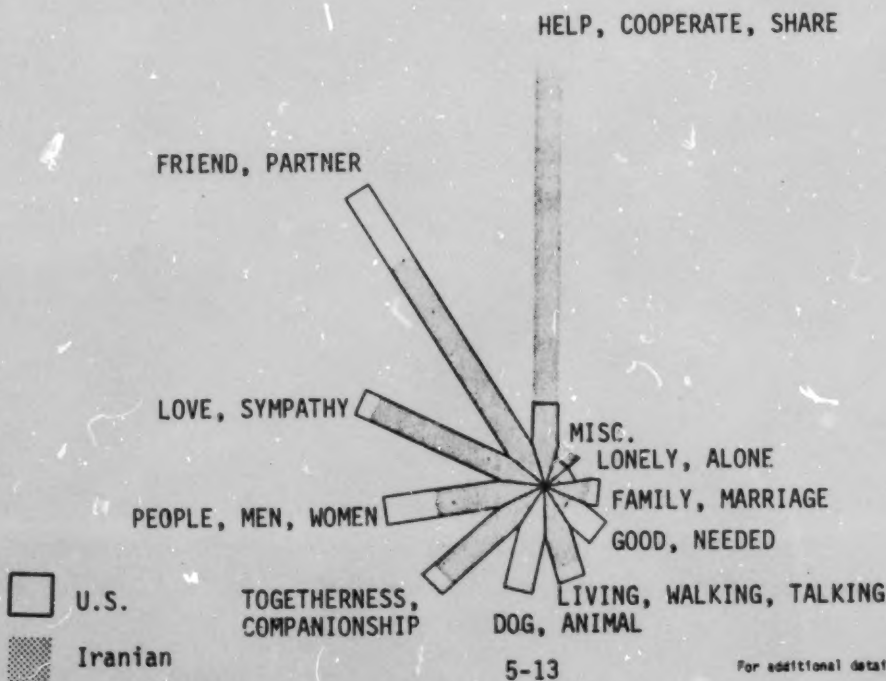
COMPANIONSHIP

HAMRĀHI

همراهی

While companionship is closely related to the idea of togetherness, there is considerably more agreement between the two culture groups in their views of companionship. To both it implies an interpersonal relationship based on friendship. Companionship is a more affect-laden concept for Americans; love and friendship are the underlying sentiments. To the Iranians understanding and sympathy are what bring and keep people together. While Americans emphasize the emotional foundation of companionship, the Iranians stress helping and cooperation, that is, the behavior expected in this situation. The word hamrahi literally means "to take the same route," to go in the same direction. It is also used in other contexts to mean "to assist". Both meanings are very close to each other for the Iranians. Going on the same route, having the same problems, holding hands and helping out one another are the deep meanings of companionship.

While in the American perspective the interpersonal rapport and emotional satisfaction provided by companionship appear to be important in themselves, in the Iranian view companionship implies a more active demonstrable commitment of the people involved. Even though they do not stress the practical advantages of companionship, Americans do feel



For additional details, see Appendix I, p. 34.

that it is desirable and needed. This reflects their emotional needs as individuals who feel alone and lonely.

In addition to human companionship, Americans also enjoy the company of pets, particularly dogs. Pets are not a part of the Iranian culture. For religious and for health reasons dogs are not kept by Iranian families. Rabies and other communicable diseases are still commonplace in Iran. According to religious beliefs, dogs are dirty and if a person touches a dog they must wash their hands three times. Other animals are kept for their usefulness. Very seldom are they considered companions. Companionship is something that is between people.*

High Frequency Iranian Themes

friendship	dusti	دوستی
help	komak	کمک
sympathy	delsuzi-hamdardi	دلسوزی - همدردی
cooperate	hamkāri	همکاری
public	hamegāni-'omumi	همگانی - عمومی
partner	šarik	شریک

* Hamid Algar, *Religion and State in Iran 1785-1906* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1969).

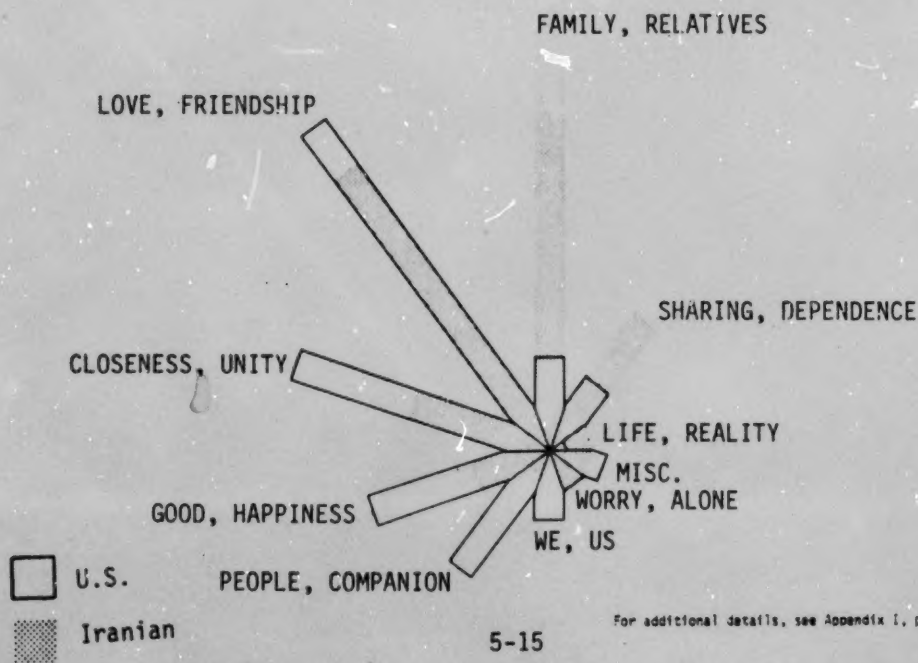
TOGETHERNESS

VĀBESTEGI

وابستگی

TogetherNESS is a particularly popular idea to Americans. Some broad analytic comparisons suggest that this concern with togetherNESS reflects a deep need to relate to others in a social milieu where the individual often experiences feelings of isolation and loneliness. Love and friendship are the central forces of cohesion, love being emphasized more by Americans and friendship more by Iranians. In the American perspective togetherNESS implies closeness, a strong bond between people. Americans expect emotional satisfaction from meaningful interpersonal relations and contrast togetherNESS with loneliness. Leaving one's shell to be with others is considered good, a key to happiness and fun.

While Americans think of togetherNESS in a broad social context, Iranians think of togetherNESS as primarily characteristic of a family setting involving parents, children, relatives, the entire extended family. The word vabastegi is derived from the term bastegi which means attached to, depending on, connected with and being a member of the same family. This helps explain the Iranian stress on family relationships here. In this family context the Iranians stress dependence, cooperation, support and responsibility.



Socially as well as culturally, Iranians have accepted the practice of togetherness and have not considered privacy as important as Americans do. Traditionally, Iranian families have all lived together: members of the same family in one room, immediate family and often close relatives in the same house, and often part of the same house rented to other families.*

High Frequency Iranian Themes

family	xānevāde	خانواده
friendship	dusti	دوستی
dependence	hambastegi	همبستگی
mother	mādar	مادر
father	pedar	پدر
closeness	nazdiki	نزدیکی

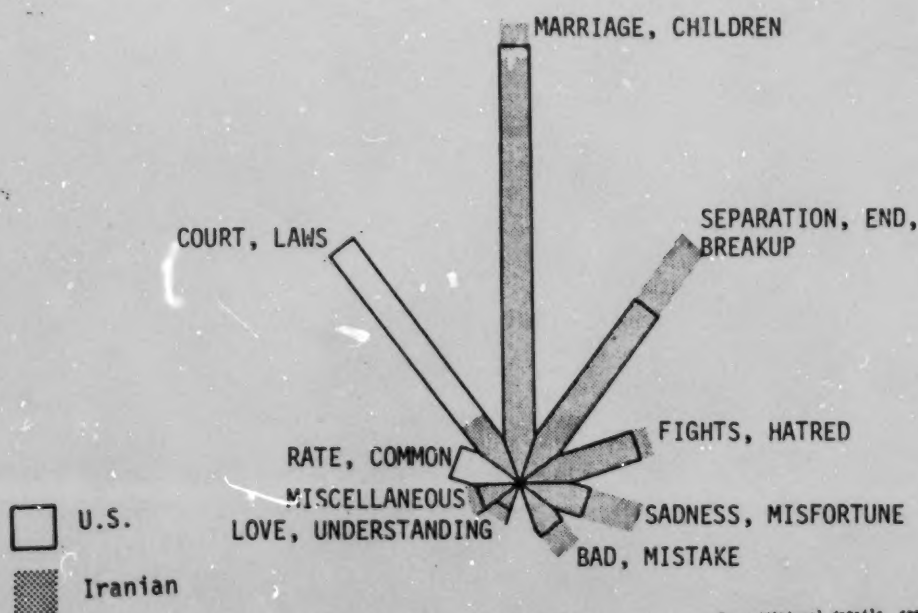
* James A. Bill and Carl Leiden, The Middle East Politics and Power (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1974).

DIVORCE

TALĀQ طلاق

Iranians have a more negative view of divorce than do Americans. While both groups relate divorce to marriage and the husband and wife, the Iranians more so than Americans cite children. Children become important when seen in the context of problems and possible dissolution of marriage, for it is in that area that Iranians far surpass Americans in the weight of their reactions.

Talaq is derived from the Arabic word talaqa and means to free, to separate. In Iran there is no lengthy period of separation to be observed before the actual divorce can take place. New laws have been enacted to remedy this, but the religious and traditional way is to allow divorce after a period of 30 days. This is designed to protect the wife in the case of a conceived child for which the husband takes full responsibility even after the divorce. The strong Iranian emphasis on separation therefore should be interpreted as referring to the actual divorce. Iranians use the expression separation to point out the emotionally painful process of actual separation of two human beings in a very close relationship. They cite such problems as quarrels, lack of understanding, treachery, and hypocrisy. The idea of separation and the feelings of sadness and defeat brought on by divorce are particularly vivid in the Iranian mind.



Interestingly, Americans show much more preoccupation with legal considerations and procedures. One reason may be that divorce is viewed as a more complex matter by Americans, yet they tend to regard divorce as a common solution to tense marital situations. Islamic law allows a man to divorce his wife quite easily and gives fathers sole jurisdiction over children at age seven. Islamic law also allows a man to have as many as four wives permanently and as many as forty-four wives temporarily, if they are treated alike and provided for similarly. Divorce is also considered more a failure to create and keep a sacred institution among Iranians than it is among Americans. Another important distinction is that among Iranians a divorced man is free and expected to remarry while the case of a divorced woman is considerably different.

High Frequency Iranian Themes

separation	jodāi	جدائی
woman	zan	زن
marriage	ézdevaj	ازدواج
children	farzandān	فرزندان
man	mard	مرد
courts	dādgāhhā	دادگاهها

SUMMARY

In a nutshell the main cultural difference found in the domain of marriage is that Americans view it as a personal private undertaking, whereas Iranians see marriage as a social institution, a framework which provides for mutual adaptation and cooperative living for a man and woman and their children. The American and Iranian cultural frames of reference result in differences not only on the issue of marriage but on other related subjects and ideals ranging from self perception to the culturally prevalent mode of interpersonal relations.

Americans approach marriage from the angle of the individual's needs and wants, the most important of which is love, both emotional and physical. There are many indications that this strong need for love and emotionally satisfying relationships is characteristic of people with individualistic personalities, who frequently feel alone and isolated. The findings suggest that marriage and interpersonal relations within the family represent the main source of satisfying this need. Love was consistently found to be an important factor in all roles (husband, wife, child) as well as in the context of marriage, companionship, and togetherness. The findings in the family domain also show that, in comparison with Iranians, Americans stress more love and emotional ties in practically every context examined. The husband-wife relationship represents the critical horizontal bond within the American family, the family thrives or crumbles on the strength of the emotional bond between the marriage partners. Consistent with their individualistic approach, Americans stress more personal goals such as happiness and security.

The practice of prearranged marriage among a great majority of Iranians is still accepted by the old and young generations alike. The older members of the family meet and discuss the marriage of their son or daughter often before the boy and girl have had a chance to meet. The older and more experienced individuals know more about the problems and compromises that are required and they can bargain much better on the contract. Friends and relatives are also expected to take part in providing what is needed to establish a new household; many contribute

cash to tide the couple over until the husband finds a job.

The Iranians generally place less emphasis on love, at least in the context of family and marriage. Their main focus is on kindness, understanding, empathy---that is, on human qualities important in recognizing and adapting to the feelings and needs of others rather than one's own. The Iranians do not go as far as the Egyptians or Jordanians in stressing the obligations and sacrifices involved in marriage and family life, but they do reveal that maintaining the broader network of interpersonal relations is more important to them than satisfying personal needs. Accordingly, in marriage and family life the parent-child relationship receives more recognition and importance than that of the husband and wife. Further, in line with this socially oriented frame of reference, Iranians stress more help and cooperation. The same social qualities---good, kind, understanding---emerge in practically every human context: adult, child, male, female. This may be one reason why the Iranians do not perceive as strong a differentiation in sex roles as may have been expected based on the available literature.

Although more and more Iranian women are working and sharing the responsibilities of the financial needs, still the greatest majority view the husband as the provider. More important, in terms of this comparison, is the husband's role as decision maker. He decides where the family lives, what job he will accept, what changes are desirable, and how the changes come about, sometimes even without the consent of wife and children. The wife, on the other hand, has an important role in terms of decision making within the family. The wife decides what the family eats, what the children wear, in what family gatherings and social occasions they participate and how much pocket money and freedom of action the children have.

Female roles---mother, wife, sister---are somewhat idealized by the Iranians, though not to the same extent as by Egyptians and Jordanians in the 1978 study. The male roles show strong emphasis on friendship and social qualities. The Iranians do not exceed the Americans in describing husband or father in terms of attributes reflecting male dominance. The Iranians do place more importance on

male family members; there are more references to sons than to daughters, more to brothers than to sisters, etc. This suggests that males carry more weight than females within the family even though male dominance is not reflected in the male images. The reactions do not reflect objective reality but subjective perceptions. The Iranians' descriptions of various male and female roles do not tell whether or not male roles are dominant, but whether they are perceived as such. Thus, the relatively small differences between Americans and Iranians in perceived dominance should not be interpreted as proof that there are no substantive differences in instances of male dominance within the two cultures. The data merely show that in their perception of male roles Iranians do not stress male dominance more than Americans.

In view of the Iranians' stronger emphasis on social qualities (kindness, understanding), we explored whether there are relevant differences between Americans and Iranians in what they mean by understanding. The comparison showed that while Americans are more preoccupied with the intellectual dimensions, the capacity to grasp causes and complex relationships, the Iranians view understanding as primarily a matter of attitude, a willingness to empathize, to see things as they appear to others in order to achieve harmony by developing the "same mind".

As we have seen throughout this chapter, the Iranians view marriage more as a matter of motivation than of love, it is a willingness to adapt and bridge differences of two minds. Divorce then is viewed as a separation caused primarily by lack of mutual understanding, quarrels, incompatibility, that is, by attitudinal differences which people are unwilling or unable to resolve.

While Americans and Iranians agree on many of the characteristics of marriage and its importance, their approaches to marriage are basically different. Americans view marriage as a major source of satisfying personal needs for meaningful human relationships in a social environment which emphasizes the individuality and independence of each person. This very emphasis creates dispositions toward loneliness and

isolation; in this milieu marriage acquires exceptionally high importance as a source of emotional satisfaction. In the Iranian social context marriage involves developing a well functioning, harmonious interrelationship through adaptation and cooperation between partners. Putting the American-Iranian differences in a somewhat simplified contrast, in the individualistic approach it is more a question of what the family can offer to the individual in satisfying his emotional needs, while in the traditional approach it is more a question of how each member can serve and promote the needs of the family as a whole and thus meet the individual needs as well.

CHAPTER 6

LOVE, SEX

In our examination of the cohesive forces at work in interpersonal relations, our interest here is in how Americans and Iranians perceive relationships with members of the opposite sex. While love and sex undoubtedly involve universal human feelings, the anthropological literature contains rich and colorful descriptions of their cultural variation. There are countless ways in which culture shapes, institutionalizes, promotes, curtails, idealizes or vilifies certain patterns of affective, sexual relations. The concepts themselves are culture-dependent. The catchword "sex" is very much a product of the American culture. This becomes most apparent when we try to translate this concept into other languages. For instance, the Spanish adopted the word "sexo" and this neologism is now widely used in many Spanish-speaking countries. Neither the Arabs nor the Iranians have a word which would convey the meaning of the English word "sex."

On the relationship of the sexes, the anthropological literature registers broad variations in male and female status differences as well. While Americans are generally considered to be egalitarian and libertarian, Iranians are characterized as maintaining considerable status differences in the relationship of man and woman. However, there are many recent accounts reflecting a shift away from the traditional attitudes. In this situation it is particularly interesting to explore to what extent Iranians exhibit a tendency to favor men over women. As the literature frequently discusses the Muslim tendency to suppress the topic of sex, it is also intriguing to explore just how explicit the Iranians are on these matters compared to Americans. To obtain insights we chose love, pleasure, and some sex roles as the means to explore the American and Iranian ways of thinking in this particular domain.

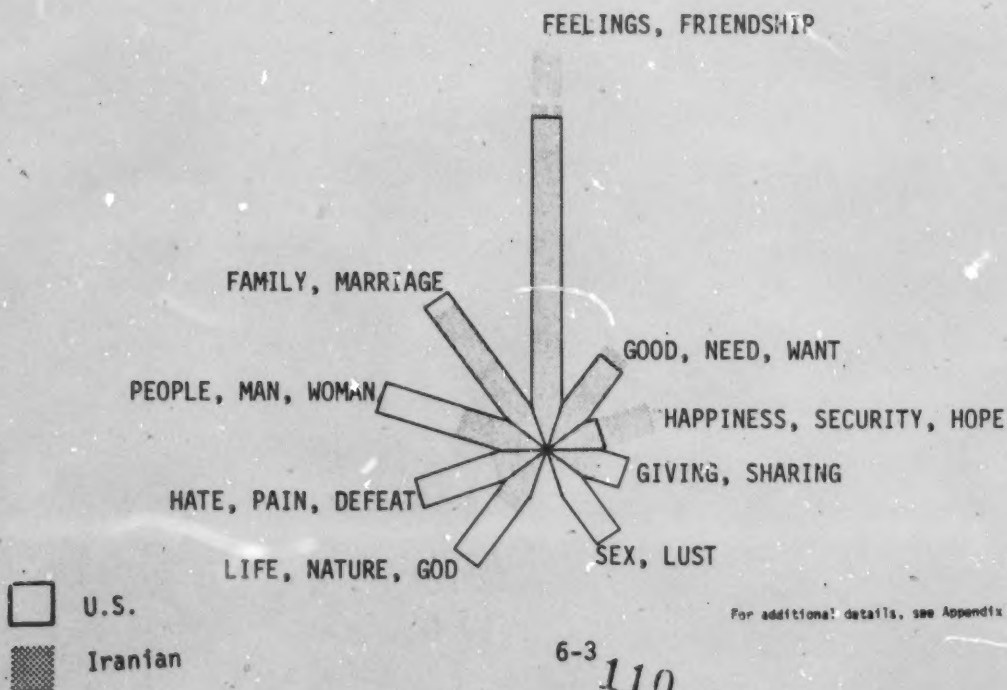
LOVE

ESQ عشق

Positive feelings and attractions toward others are the common core of the meaning of love for Americans and Iranians. The Iranians, like the Arab groups studied, concentrate most heavily on the emotional foundation and social commitment of love.

The word eşq in Farsi covers a wide range of feelings, from platonic love to passionate love, but the mystical concept of love as explained in sufism seems to be the predominant meaning in the Iranian mind. This main usage in the poetry, literature and philosophy tends towards love as a human quality, deep feelings and strong commitments, the love of God, and the elevation of self through self sacrifice for the perfect love. In much of the Iranian literature love is used to refer to the ultimate state of closeness, even oneness. Sufism stresses the word love and is based on the ability of man to become one with the divine being; not everyone is capable of giving love.

The words morid and morad refer to follower and leader, student and master, and to lover and beloved in the sense that a distinction is hard to find and the two are always referred to at the same time and are not distinguished in their role so they really become one and that is true love.



For additional details, see Appendix 1, p. 37.

The sexual aspects of love, considered as a less important factor by Iranians, are much less emphasized. Carnal love is not an underlying meaning of the word love in Farsi. even at its most passionate level of usage. In order to make that distinction, the expression esgo šahvat (love and sensuality or lust) is used in the language, along with some other expressions necessary to express sensuality.

In the American view the objects of love---family members, spouses, lovers, as well as pets---receive more attention than in the Iranian view. Relationships with parents and with members of the opposite sex are particularly important. In contrast to the Iranians, Americans consider sex to be an integral part of love. For Americans hate comes strongly to mind, possibly because personal relationships are so open to change. Americans show strong interest in tangible expressions of love such as giving and sharing.

In line with their view of love as a social attitude, the Iranians value personal sacrifice and subordination to the interests of others as expressions of love. To the Iranians love is more a social relationship which involves maintaining the proper rapport with others through kindness, friendship and sacrifice. Their stress on hope, wish and dream further indicate a more romantic approach to love.

High Frequency Iranian Themes

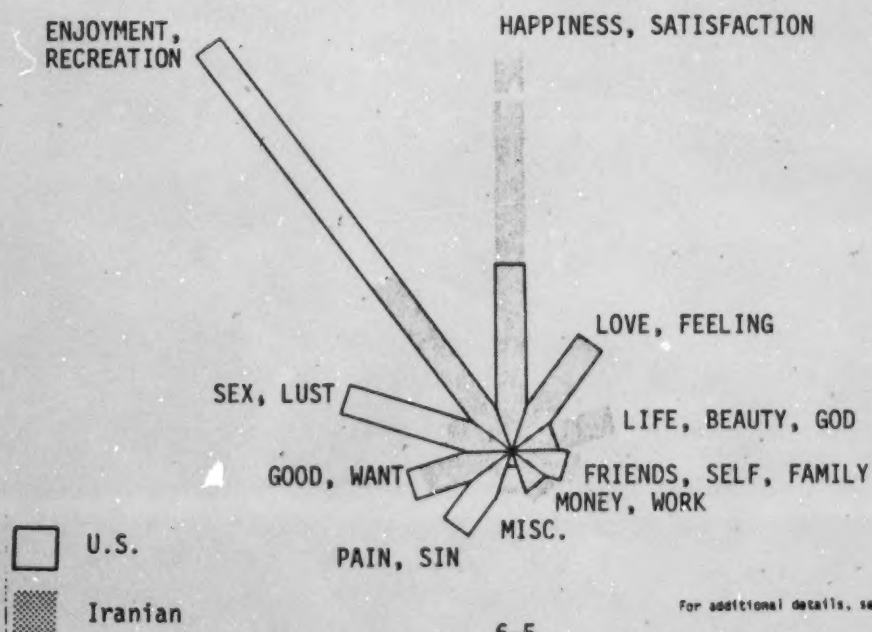
kindness	mehrabani	مهربانی
friendship	dusti	دوستی
hope	omid	امید
truthfulness	dorosti	درستی
purity	paki	پاکی
marriage	ezdevaj	ازدواج

PLEASURE

LEZZAT لذت

Pleasure seems to be very much related to happiness for the Iranians. There is no happiness without pleasure. Although this in itself might suggest a hedonistic orientation, a closer look reveals a more passive, contemplative frame of mind (peace, joy). It seems to indicate a certain degree of satisfaction achieved in a peaceful way with family and friends. The ultimate pleasure for the Iranians would be the result of a loving and satisfying relationship.

While the Iranians focus on feelings, the Americans focus on activity, the personal enjoyment derived from sports, travel, sailing. Both groups find eating, sleeping, and drinking to be pleasurable. One of the sharper cultural contrasts relates to sex. Americans place strong emphasis on sexual pleasure compared to a lesser attention given by the Iranians to lust. Both groups agree that pleasure is good and desirable. Americans think of friends and the Iranians of family as sources of pleasure. Iranians consider life itself a pleasure and place more emphasis on money as a source of pleasure. The Americans contrast pleasure with pain and think of sin possibly because of the closer connection they see between pleasure and sex.



For additional details, see Appendix I, p. 38.

Consistent with their more platonic interpretation, the Iranians relate pleasure to religious subjects such as God and heaven.

For Iranians the meaning of pleasure is generally much wider in scope than for the Americans. Anything can be pleasurable as suggested by the Iranian reactions such as peace of mind, relaxation, living, and doing nothing. Happiness and satisfaction are viewed as being closely related to pleasure. In the Iranian view these are seldom accomplished by the individual alone but must by necessity involve others like family members and friends. So for the Iranians pleasure is the extent to which an individual is capable of giving and receiving; it is both personal and social, and it is more often passive than active.

High Frequency Iranian Themes

happiness	xošī-xoṣhālī	خوشی - خوشحالی
love	ʿešq	عشق
recreation	gardeš	گرددش
lust	šahvat	شهوت
life	zendegi	زندگی
joy	šādi	شادی

LUST

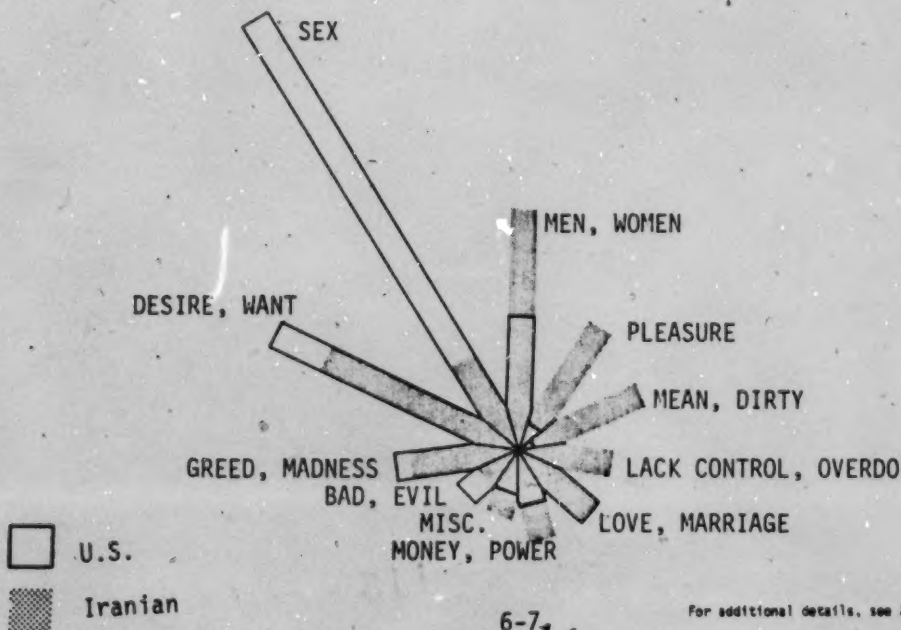
SAHVAT

شهوة

Americans view lust as more emphatically sexual and elaborate on explicit sexual details, using some more, some less socially acceptable language. They describe lust as a desire, craving, or passion and associate it with greed as well as love. This strong connection between love and lust is probably due to the close relationship between sex and love in the American mind, while to the Iranians love implies more emotional feelings, kindness, and friendship than physical desire.

The Iranians view lust as a very low human quality, and sahvat used in a compound expression with money and power to express the unworthy, negative aspects of a materialistic life.

Americans show some mild disapproval of lust as bad and evil. The Iranians condemn it as being mean and dirty and associate lust with lack of control, lack of willpower, and overindulgence. It is considered as a need but a selfish, sinful, dirty one. Men are condemned for lack of will power and women for symbolizing the temptation. The relationship of men and women is an important consideration, and it is interesting to note that both Americans and Iranians place substantially more emphasis on the role of the woman than the man. Iranians view it as a pleasure. For both groups lust is related to money and power.



High Frequency Iranian Themes

women	zan	زن
pleasure	lezzat	لذّت
desire	meyl	میل
men	mardān	مردان
need	niāz	نیاز
sex	seks	سکس

SACRIFICE

FADĀKĀRI

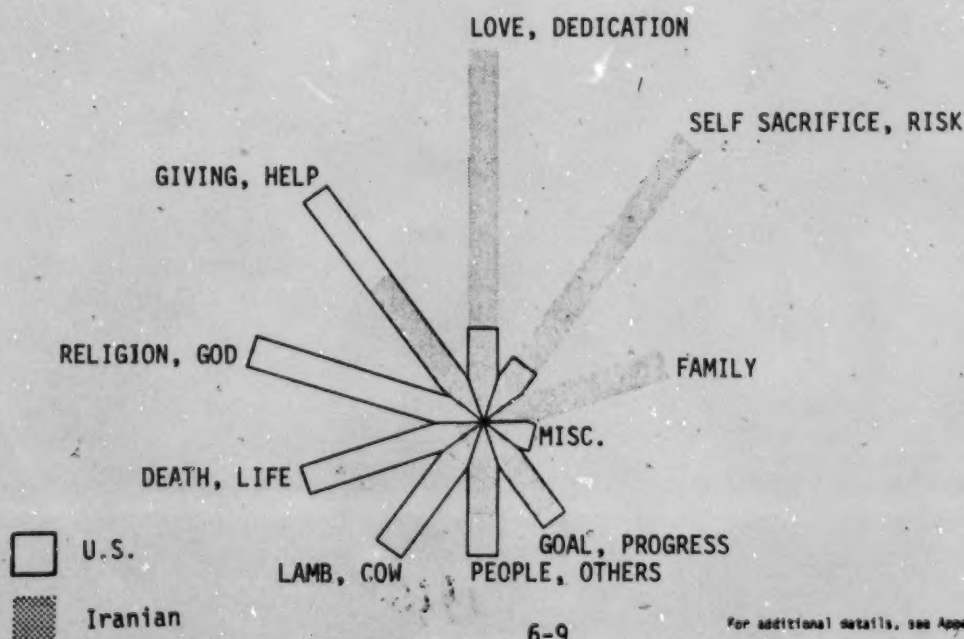
فداکاری

Although in the American cultural frame of reference sacrifice has little to do with the domain of love and sex, in the Iranian interpretation of love, social commitment and obligation, sacrifice is extremely important. Love and dedication are the strongest elements of sacrifice. Sacrifice is related not only to love but to friendship, kindness and devotion.

True friendship, love and family relationships are not considered possible in an Iranian mind, without a considerable amount of self sacrifice. One of the very frequently used expressions of love in the Persian language and literature is fadayat šavam, "I worship you," which literally means "I would be sacrificed for you."

Iranians also use a number of other words and phrases which all have in their meaning a component of sacrifice as an expression of love or gratitude. The very frequently used qorbane soma (thank you, I am grateful) literally means "sacrifice to you." The expression qorbano sadage reftan (to express love or to worship) literally means "to become sacrifice and alms."

In the American mind sacrifice is closely related to family, particularly to the mother's role. The Iranians also speak of self



sacrifice, a willingness to risk one's own life. The Americans also acknowledge that sacrifice may involve death and killing, but they relate it to the lives of others rather than their own. In the American context sacrifice is an act of giving and helping. Furthermore, for Americans sacrifice has particularly strong religious connotations: Jesus Christ is seen as the symbol of sacrifice. Their references to human and animal (cow, lamb, etc.) sacrifices are undoubtedly related to this religious aspect.

It may be concluded that sacrifice as a personal obligation or commitment is not a familiar notion in the American frame of reference. The idea of self sacrifice and commitment to family and loved ones fits better into the Iranian social frame of reference.

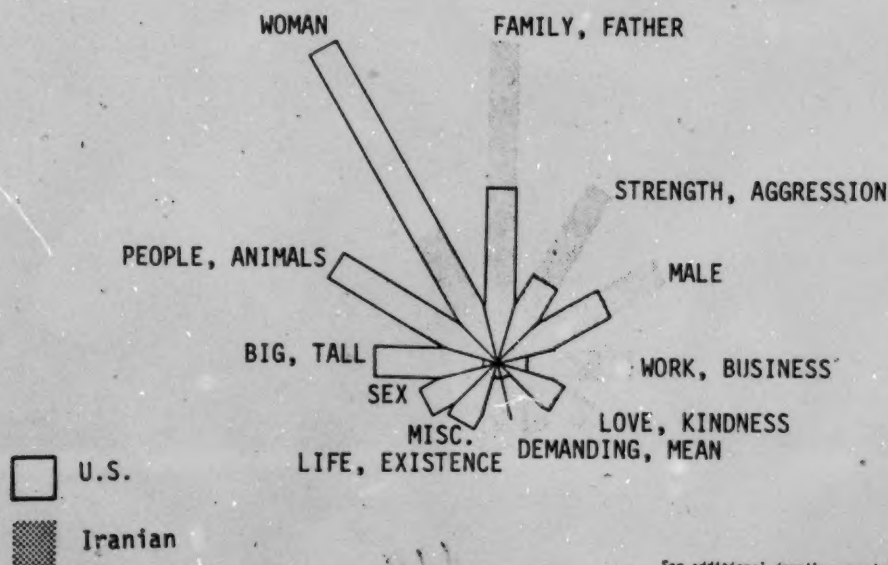
High Frequency Iranian Themes

self sacrifice	āzxodgozaštegī	از خود گذشتگی
friendship	dustī	دوستی
mother	mādar	مادر
kindness	mehrabānī	مهربانی
risking one's life	jānbāzi	جانبازی
love	ʿešq	عشق

MAN
MARD مرد

The Iranians' image of man is richer, more diversified, and more dominant than the Americans'. To the Americans man has a particularly strong sexual connotation. They emphasize the man-woman contrast and also make more explicit references to sex. Manliness and maleness are stronger Iranian references. The Americans describe masculine features---big, hairy, tall---while social attributes are more important to the Iranians. They stress personality attributes and social roles of man, particularly within the family: father, husband, brother. The Iranians see man in a dominant and domineering role. He is characterized as powerful and aggressive, a headmaster, commander, and leader. Furthermore, he is considered demanding, mean, cowardly, and weak. In regard to his work and business he is perceived to be a hardworking, active breadwinner. His social attitudes and attributes also receive more attention from the Iranians; these include love, affection, and kindness. Americans make more references to love and goodness.

The expression, mard o mardanegi, (man and manhood), is also applied to women. It refers to a person able to take responsibility, to be courageous and stand by their promises. Another expression, mostly used in the spoken language is agar mard, literally meaning "if you are a man," but actually meaning "if you are up to it." This expression is



also equally applied to both men and women in the context of having the strength or the courage to do something.

In general, Iranians see man more in terms of humanness and family roles while from the American perspective man's physical appearance and contrast with woman are most salient.

High Frequency Iranian Themes

woman	zan	زن
father	pedar	پدر
husband	šohar	شوهر
human being	ensan	انسان
masculine	mahičī	ماهیچای
aggressive	xašen	خشن

WOMAN

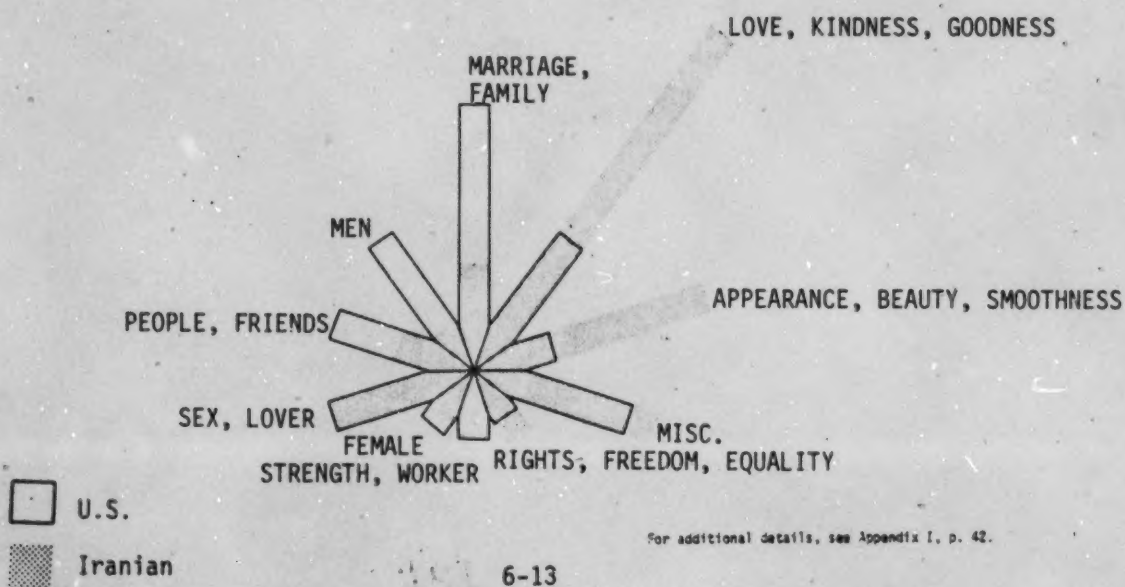
ZAN

زن

While man emerged with a more dominant and meaningful image in the eyes of the Iranians, the image of woman is more meaningful to Americans. The male-female contrast is again a large part of the woman's image for Americans. In general agreement with this sexual distinction, Americans label woman more emphatically as female and elaborate on her physical appearance (breasts, beauty, legs, etc.). Furthermore, she is characterized as a strong, intelligent, hard working person. Finally, her rights to equality and freedom receive more attention from Americans.

As was mentioned in our analysis of "wife" (Chapter 5), the word zan means woman as well as wife, depending on the context. For the purposes of this study we made the distinction by referring to woman as zan "as in man and woman."

The Iranians' image of woman is less colorful, less differentiated. Her roles as mother and wife are particularly important, and her social and human qualities are stressed, especially those most relevant from a male angle: love, kindness, goodness, purity, faithfulness. In contrast to the American focus on physical attributes, the more subtle feminine qualities capture the Iranians' attention: elegance, smoothness, sensitivity, etc. To the Iranians



a woman is a delicate, kind, appealing part of man's life; she is indispensable in holding a marriage together and her primary role is motherhood and the raising of the children.

As the reactions suggest, the two culture groups differ considerably in their image of woman. The American's image is built around sexual physical contrasts between man and woman. The Iranians stress her family role and her socially relevant human qualities.

High Frequency Iranian Themes

mother	mādar	مادر
love	'eśq	عشق
men	mardān	مردان
smoothness	narmī	نرمی
beautiful	zibā	زیبا
wife	hamsar - zan	همسر - زن

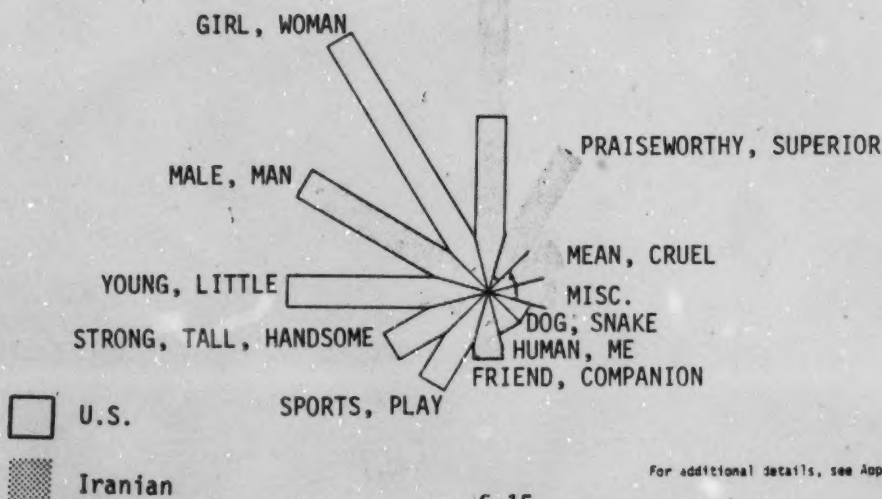
Boy

PESAR

The Iranian image of boys shows some of the typical characteristics of the Iranian way of thinking. They emphasize family and family roles (father, brother, daughter) and make a strong distinction between adults and children. The parent-child relationship is the main axis in the Iranian family organization. The Iranians see boys in an extremely positive light, describing them as good, praiseworthy, lovable and superior. On the negative side boys are also viewed as proud and selfish. Interestingly enough, however, the Iranians' image of boys is relatively shallow compared to the Americans' image, which is richer and more dominant.

The Farsi word pesar refers to young boy or son in contrast to the use of boy in the English language. In Farsi a boy is a very young male individual or a male child born to a couple. This may explain the Iranians' fewer references to youth since this component of meaning is already a part of the Farsi word pesar. The English expression "boy friend" may refer to a 60 year old. The expression boy is also sometimes used in its plural form to refer to a group of men and has many other usages in English. The word pesar (boy) would not be used to translate those expressions into Farsi.

FAMILY MEMBERS



For additional details, see Appendix I, p. 43.

6-15

In the American view the sexual distinction between boys and girls gets emphatic attention, and maleness is a salient attribute. Age is another important factor to Americans. Sex and age were also important elements in their image of children (Chapter 5). Stereotypical male qualities such as being strong, tall, and handsome are also salient.

In partial contrast the Iranians view boys not as individuals but as family members, and the positive personal qualities mentioned suggest a tendency toward idealization.

High Frequency Iranian Themes

father	pedar	پدر
daughter	doxtar	دختر
brother	baradar	برادر
male	nar	نر
child	bače-farznd	بچه - فرزند
love	ēšq	عشق

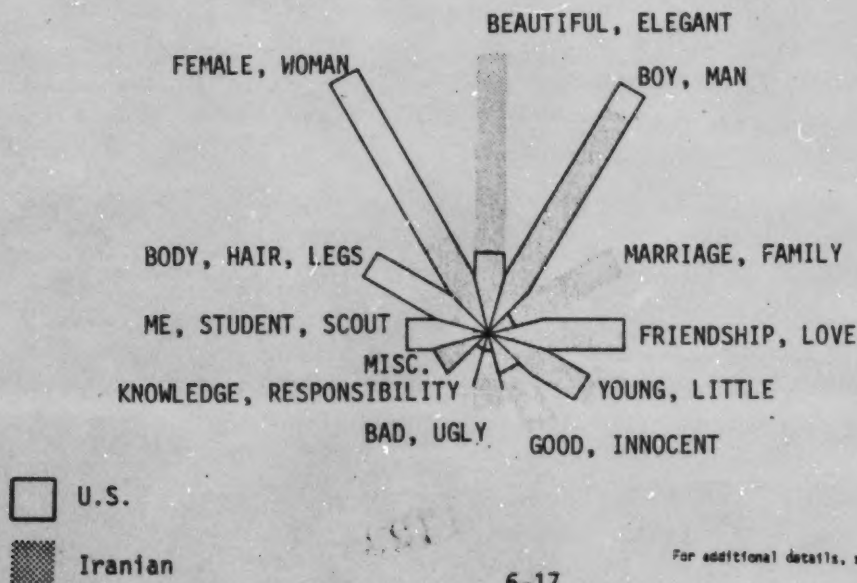
GIRL

DOXTAR دختر

Americans view girls as a contrast to boys, a contrast which suggests a strong tendency to categorize people by sex. Their identification of girls as females and their attention to physical attributes are consistent with this observation. In addition to personal characteristics, age is another important consideration to Americans, as suggested by their references to youth and small size.

Once again, contrary to the American emphasis on physical appearance like legs, breasts, and hair, the Iranians stress beauty, kindness, innocence and grace. The word doxtar means daughter as well as girl and it is used almost as a symbol of life existence and hope by the Iranians. They view the predominant role of a girl to be in marriage and motherhood. Doxtar is also often used as a synonym to virgin.

The Iranians, like Koreans, Hispanics, Arabs, and Slovenians, are inclined to view girls and boys simply as children, with little regard to sex and age differences. This does not mean that the Iranians would not make an important distinction between girls and boys, but the distinction is based more on personality and social attributes than on physical characteristics. The physical attributes and appearance of



For additional details, see Appendix I, p. 44.

girls as noted by Iranians---hair, eyes, beauty, elegance---involve feminine qualities which are not explicitly sexual. The personality attributes they stress are goodness and innocence. Iranians place girls most emphatically in the context of marriage and family.

On the negative side they think of ugliness, indecision, aimlessness. The reference to misfortune may reflect the traditional view that the birth of a daughter rather than a son is a misfortune, but there is little additional support for such a negative attitude. In fact not only is the general tenor of reactions positive, but they even reflect a certain degree of idealization and esteem. Furthermore, the Iranians' image of girls appears to be particularly dominant and meaningful, more so than that of boys. Considering the traditional emphasis on the male child, this suggests an interesting reversal, the clarification of which would require more focused attention and analysis in greater depth.

High Frequency Iranian Themes

boy	pesar	پسر
beauty	zibai	زیبائی
child	farzand-bače	فرزند - بچه
husband	šohar	شوهر
good	xub	خوب
mother	madar	مادر

SUMMARY

The values and roles analyzed in this chapter were chosen to explore the meaning of love as a cohesive force in the two cultures. Love, and human affect in general, is highly subjective and difficult to describe.

While certain qualities, such as the intensity and the stability of love are outside of our focus, the culturally characteristic views and attitudes which emerged suggest some interesting differences between Americans and Iranians.

For contemporary Americans, sex is inseparable from love, but Iranians do not even have a word which is a close equivalent to sex; they use partial synonyms such as lust and pleasure. The emergence of sex as a separate and highly popular word in English is neither accidental nor inconsequential. Some might be inclined to say that Iranians do not refer to sex simply because they do not have a word for it, and if they did, love would also have a heavy sexual connotation for them. However, a broad and consistent pattern emerges here which is apparently little affected by whether sex is available as a word in the Farsi vocabulary. There are indications that the entire subject has a different meaning in the subjective world of Iranians where love is less a question of male-female relationships, and friendship ties are emphasized more.

Americans view love as a source of emotional satisfaction derived mainly from romantic relationships. Iranians see it as the core of social rapport resulting in social attitudes of kindness, affection, truthfulness and readiness to make sacrifices.

The cultural attitudes toward pleasure and lust reveal similar priorities. Americans stress personal enjoyment and satisfaction with emphasis on sex, while the Iranians emphasize the happiness and peace which comes from kindness toward others. Lust implies immorality (bad, wrong, evil) to Americans and lack of character (mean, dirty) to Iranians.

The cultural meaning of sacrifice also has the heavier social focus for Iranians. For Americans sacrifice is not an everyday word, and its meaning is limited primarily to religious, ritualistic connotations. In the Iranian culture the idea of sacrifice is more meaningful; it conveys commitment and personal dedication, usually toward family members. The mother is a particularly strong symbol of sacrifice. Iranians make it clear that they also have self sacrifice in mind, serving loved ones at the expense of personal interest. In their mind sacrifice is apparently one of the dearest expressions of love.

While the analysis of value concepts like love and pleasure is complicated by translation problems, the analysis of sex roles like man and woman is substantially simpler. Whether thinking of man or woman, boy or girl, Americans point to sex differences as the most salient elements of meaning. In the context of all these roles Americans make significantly more references to sex and maleness or femaleness. They also concentrate on physical characteristics and appearance (woman: breast; man: big, strong). The Iranians, on the other hand, stress the person's family role: e.g., man as father, woman as mother. Their reference to other family members and to family in general further suggests that sex differences are important primarily in their implications for role functions within the family.

Iranians stress personal attributes which are desirable in their view of the social universe. Man is characterized as a leader, a commander, aggressive, good and kind; woman as good, kind, and faithful. For Iranians the importance of having positive social attributes (good, kind) is little affected by one's sex, yet this does not preclude a simultaneous emphasis on sex-specific attributes (e.g., boy: mean; girl: virgin). In this sense Iranians do see a clear sex role differentiation, though it would probably be more accurate to say that the differences are based on gender rather than sex as understood by Americans. Thus, the Iranians are by no means blind to sex differences; they simply see them in other terms.

Considering the rapid modernization taking place in Iran today, it is interesting to speculate on which cultural stereotypes still hold and which have been replaced by new attitudes and values. Although we have no baseline data to use as reference points on the relationship of men and women, the U.S. and Iranian comparison suggests that there are interesting and consequential differences which are not limited to the question of sexist or non-sexist attitudes, but which bear in a wider, more general sense on views and perspectives involving interpersonal relations.

There are some signs reflecting the heritage of male supremacy, but these signs show considerable antiquity among the students in our samples. The images of man and boy indicate higher social prestige, but these advantages appear to be at least partially balanced by the psychological dominance of female roles. Thus, for instance, the Iranian's image of girls was psychologically richer and more meaningful than that of boys, and there was a certain degree of idealization expressed toward girls and women.

CHAPTER 7

FRIENDSHIP

In exploring the nature of interpersonal relations within the American and Iranian cultures, we have so far focused primarily on male-female relationships (in family, marriage, love). We now turn our attention to friendship, which in America is commonly thought of as involving members of the same sex, but which in Iran may not be so restricted a concept.

A common complaint among foreigners dealing with Americans, either in the United States or when Americans travel to their country, is that they have trouble developing lasting friendships with Americans. They seem to conclude that Americans are insincere and superficial or that they do not like foreigners. This raises the question of whether friendship means the same thing to Americans and to people from more traditional cultures. Our earlier studies comparing Koreans, Hispanic Americans, Filipinos, and Arabs with Americans have consistently suggested a traditional view of friendship which stresses permanence and commitment and a contrasting American interpretation shaped by modern industrial conditions which promote mobility and transience.

To explore relevant American and Iranian psychocultural dispositions, we analyzed themes that were most frequently associated with friendship by the two groups: friends, enemy, and trust (dominant in the American data) and fidelity, brotherhood, and help (from the Iranian responses). The findings reveal how American and Iranian culturally dominant frames of reference affect their perception and evaluation of friendship.

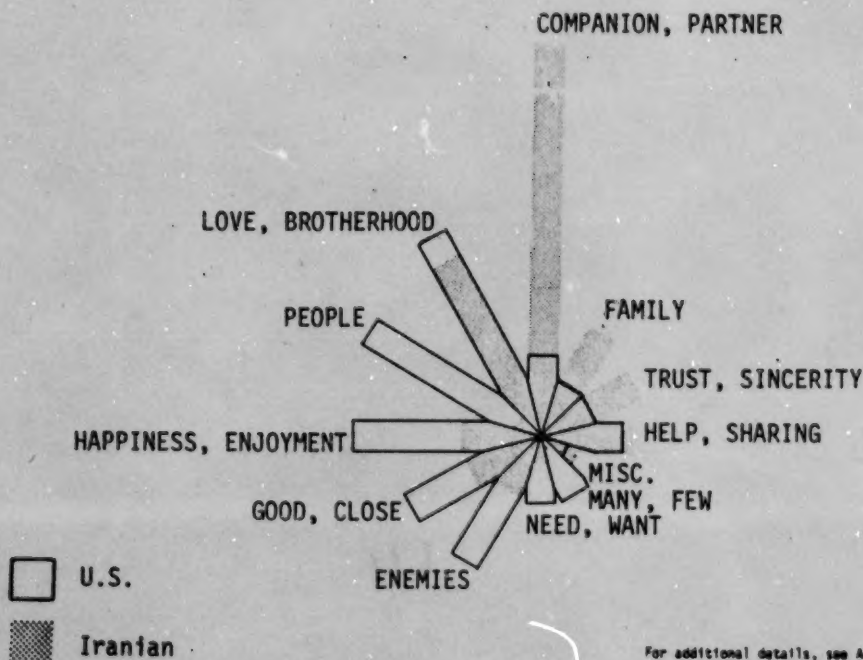
FRIENDS

DUSTĀN

دوستان

Beyond the notion that friends are people with close affective ties, Americans and Iranians show some distinct differences which relate to the role and function of friends in the two cultures. Americans have a broad variety of people in mind, both male and female, members of groups, neighbors, companions, etc. They are concerned with the number of friends one has, whether it is many or few. The strong social and emotional needs for friends is explicitly reflected in their reactions which stress that friends are important and needed. To Americans, the closeness and emotional satisfaction gained from a friendship seem to matter more than its duration or permanence. The role of friends is relegated mainly to leisure time activities, where they provide entertainment, fun and enjoyment.

For Iranians, as for people in other traditional societies, friends serve a more complex purpose. They are relied on as a major and continuing source of support, cooperation and help in almost all areas of life, including business, work, etc. Friendship and love are often used interchangeably to indicate ties that are for life between two individuals.



For additional details, see Appendix I, p. 45.

Iranians consider thinking alike and sharing some social and political beliefs, as particularly important for establishing and maintaining friendships among companions. Thus the idea of friendship evokes a wider range of feelings from the Iranians than from Americans including love, affection, sympathy, and kindness. In addition they place more emphasis on lasting ties by stressing the importance of fidelity, faithfulness and sincerity. The special importance of friends is well expressed by the Iranian poet Saadi:

"If asked to make a request from a friend,
My request will not be but one for a friend."

High Frequency Iranian Themes

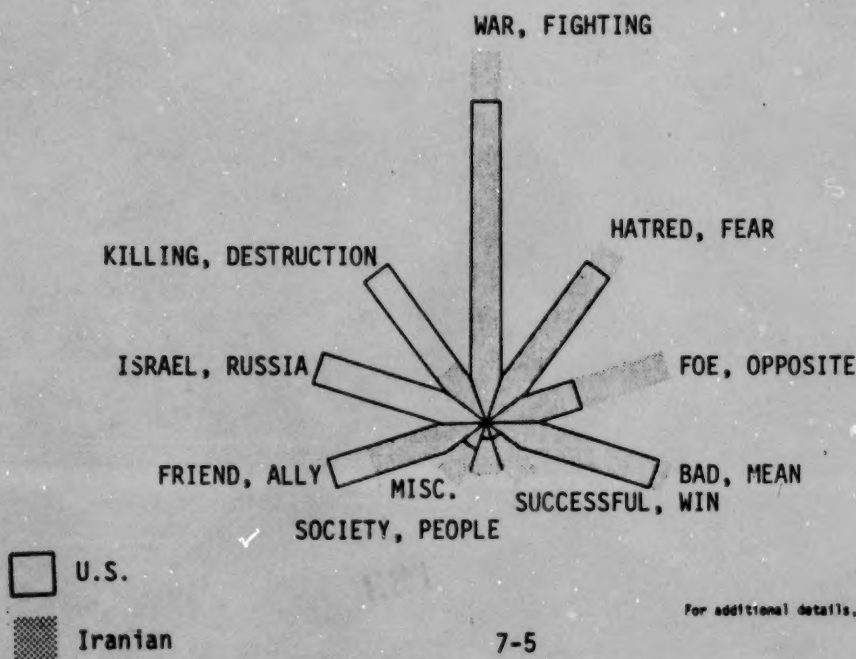
comrade	rafiq	رفیق
mate, partner	yār	یار
affectionate	mehrabān	مهربان
brother	barādar	برادر
sincerity	sedāqat	صدقت
thinking alike	hamfekr	همفکر

ENEMY

DOŠMAN دشمن

Although enemy conjures images of war and fighting from both groups, Iranians and Americans have quite different enemies in mind. The latter think of enemies primarily in terms of antagonistic countries (World War II, Germany, Japan, Vietnam), with the Russians receiving the most attention. The Iranians pay practically no attention to foreign powers or international hostilities; they seem to think primarily of domestic conflict and competition. The enemy appears to be more a personal adversary, even a bad friend. They describe the enemy not only as bad and mean but also as stupid, ignorant and selfish. A further indicator of a domestic focus for the Iranians is that conflict between enemies seems to result in disagreements, quarrels, and arguments rather than in killing and destruction. The emotions and feelings involved also seem to be less extreme.

The American references to "friends" and "allies" probably have roots in the historical experience that in all recent wars and contemporary involvements Americans have participated in the framework of alliances. The Iranians, with their domestic, personal focus, leave international alliances entirely out of consideration.



For additional details, see Appendix I, p. 48.

High Frequency Iranian Themes

war	jang	جنگ
friend	dust	دوست
competitor	raqib	رقیب
mean	badxâh	بدخواه
fighting	jangidan	جنگیدن
hatred	tanaffor	تنفر

TRUST

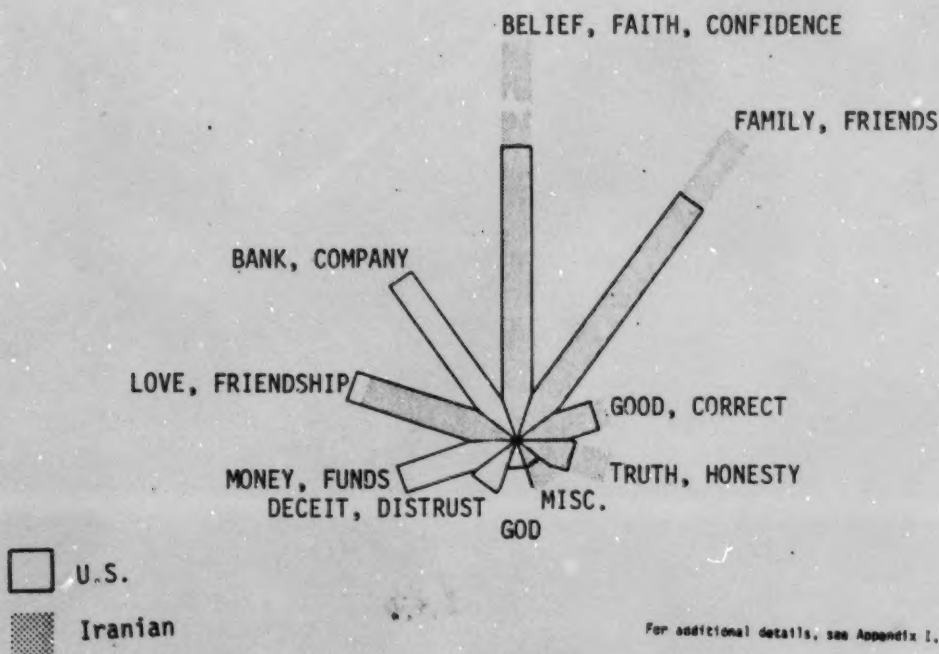
ĒTEMĀD

امتناع

Trust has two main referents in English; one involves a human value or attitude (faith, belief in someone), and the other relates to money and banking. The Iranian term centers on the idea of faith and confidence. Though this core meaning of faith is shared by the two groups, Americans emphasize the personal attributes of loyalty, honesty, and honor, while the Iranians' focus is more on belief, truth and confidence as the personal and social foundations of trust.

Among those trusted, friends are at the top of the list for Americans, followed by God and people in general. In the case of the Iranians, father stands in first place, followed by friends. For both groups, trust is closely related to love and friendship and is valued positively. Considering its human, social implications, trust appears to be a similarly important idea for both groups.

The special place of trust within the Iranian social system is exemplified in the market place where an individual can raise thousands of dollars in cash or buy and sell property worth millions without any kind of a written agreement or document if that person is trusted.



For additional details, see Appendix I, p. 47.

If there is trust, no question is raised as to an individual's honesty, loyalty or friendship; one's word is literally as good as gold and such a friendship is valued much more than the value of material things.

In this context, it is easy to understand why the insistence by Americans on duly witnessed legal documentation of nearly all business dealings is frequently interpreted by Iranians as lack of trust and therefore reduces their desire to promote an association.

High Frequency Iranian Themes

confidence	ētmīnān	اطمینان
belief	ēteqād	اعتقاد
friends	dustān	دوستان
father	pedar	پدر
correctness	dorosti	درستی
truth	rāsti	راستی

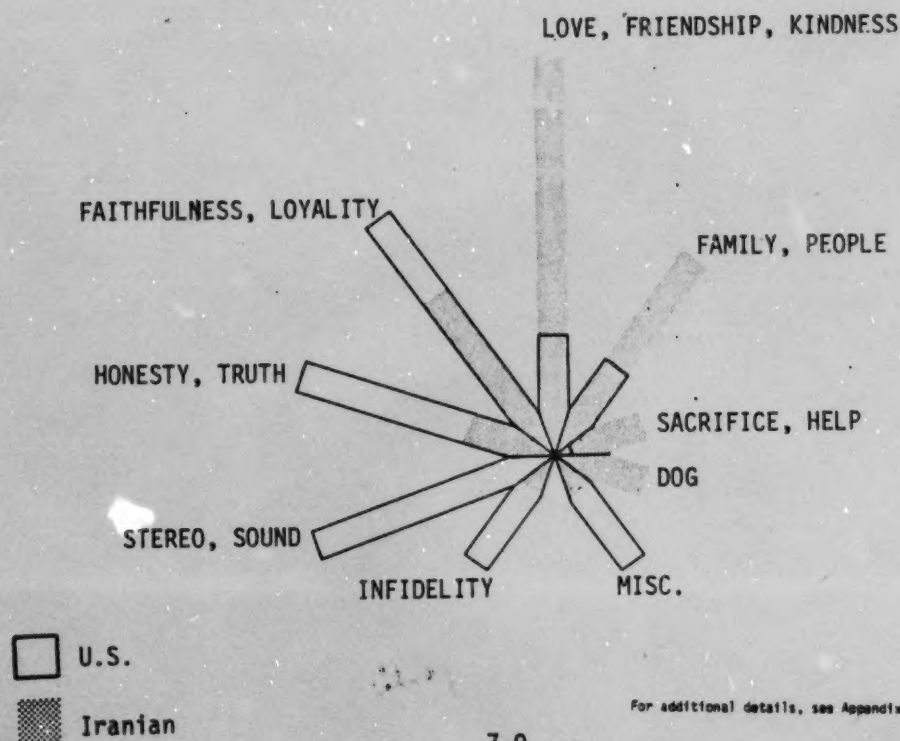
FIDELITY

VAFĀDARI

وفاداری

For both groups fidelity is closely related to faithfulness and truth. It appears to be a much more meaningful concept for the Iranians than for Americans. Both groups agree that fidelity is a virtue relevant to marriage and the family, but Americans show more concern with the relationship between marriage partners, while the Iranians associate fidelity with the behavior of practically all family members.

The Iranian perception of fidelity shows a heavy influence of religious teaching and values. The religion of Islam encourages fidelity as well as faithfulness with others, especially with friends. The Iranians stress strong emotional ties, implying that fidelity naturally accompanies love and friendship. This finding lends further support to the earlier observations that friendship implies a different type of relationship in the Iranian culture than it does in the American. Furthermore, the Iranians stress that fidelity requires personal sacrifice in helping others.



For additional details, see Appendix I, p. 48.

Beyond its connection with human social values such as faithfulness, loyalty, and honesty, Americans associate fidelity with the qualities of stereo sound equipment, a context naturally alien to the Iranians.

High Frequency Iranian Themes

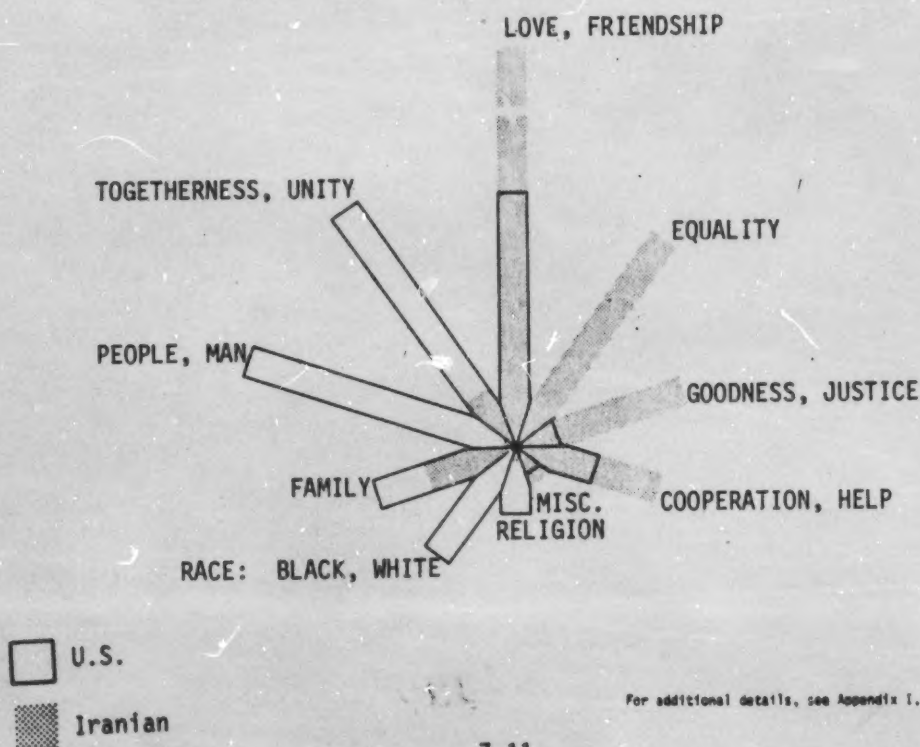
friend	dust	دوست
love	ēšq	عشق
kindness	mehrabāni	مهربانی
dog	sag	سگ
faith	īman	ایمان
truth	dorosti	درستی

BROTHERHOOD

BARĀDARI برادری

Brotherhood conveys a special and close relationship among a more or less select group of people. The American interpretation has a particularly strong focus on man, which may refer to males (implying a sexual distinction), as well as to humanity. For Americans, brotherhood is closely associated with particular family members: sister, father, etc. It also has a strong racial connotation, particularly in reference to Blacks, and conveys some religious undertones as well. Americans stress close ties of togetherness and unity.

For the Iranians, brotherhood implies particularly strong affective ties of friendship and love. The close relationship of brotherhood to family and friends for the Iranians is further underlined by common goals and functions: cooperation, assistance, help. The Iranians, with greater emphasis on such social values as equality, justice and peace suggest that, for them, brotherhood has broader social and political connotations.



For additional details, see Appendix I, p. 49.

High Frequency Iranian Themes

equality	barābari	برابری
friendship	dusti	دوستی
companionship	refāqat	رفاقت
from the same blood	hamxuni	همخونی
purity	yekrangi	یکرنگی
kindness	mehrabāni	مهربانی

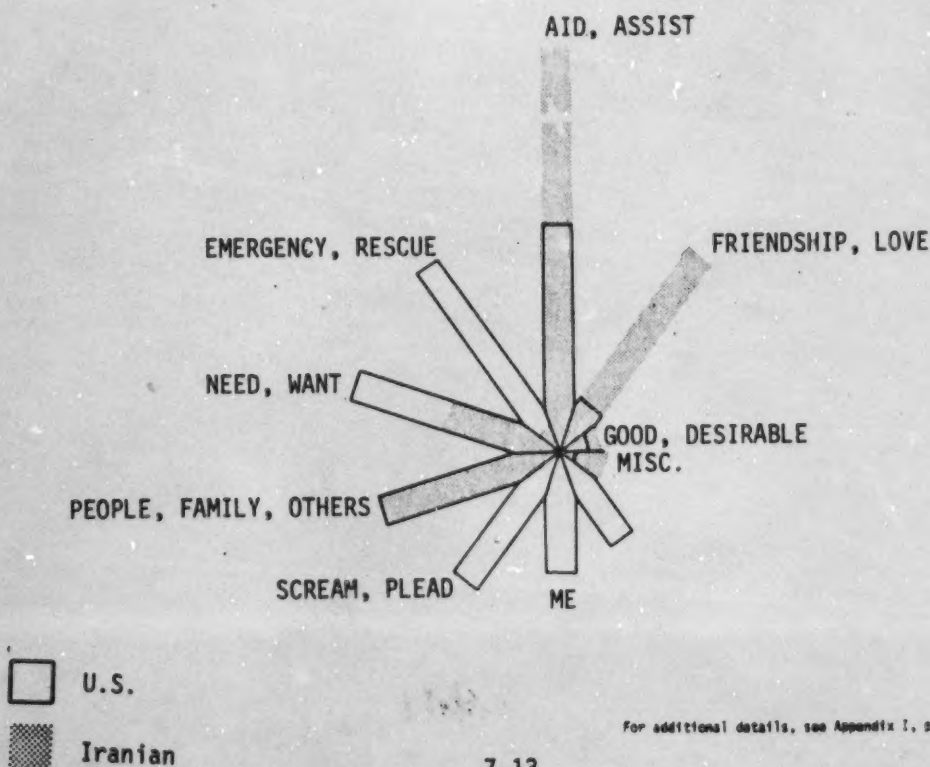
HELP

KOMAK



The central idea of this concept for both culture groups is giving assistance, aid and support. The nature of the help, however, is somewhat different in that Americans and Iranians think of different categories of people being helped and emphasize different types of helping activities. For the Iranians, the idea of mutual assistance, mutual aid, and cooperation is especially important. They show an orientation toward the group and the community rather than toward the individual. Friendship is the emotional force behind helping which suggests that the Iranians have a more select group of people in mind: friends and family members.

Americans most commonly associate help with critical emergency situations such as fires, drownings or murders. They think vividly of the behavior of a person in danger calling for help: crying, screaming, yelling. They also speak of helping people in general and of helping themselves.



For additional details, see Appendix I, p. 50.

High Frequency Iranian Themes

mutual assistance	taāvon	تعاون
friend	dust	دوست
cooperation	hamkāri	همکاری
need	ēhtiāj	احتیاج
man	mard	مرد
good	xub	خوب

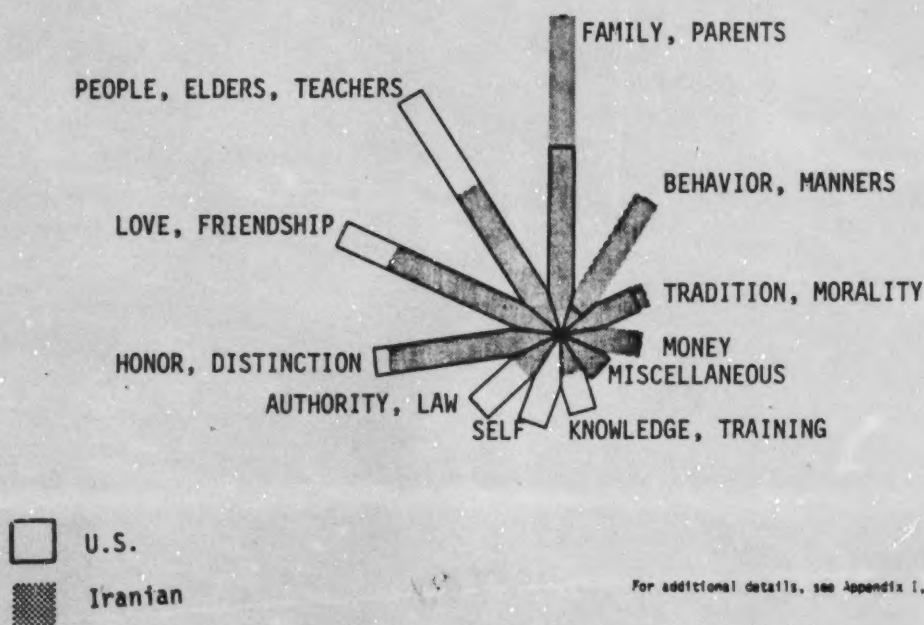
RESPECT

EHTERAM

احترام

To the Iranians, respect does not carry the same rich meaning it does for the Arab groups previously studied.* In fact, they make surprisingly few references to people who traditionally command respect. There are no references to political authorities (king, shah), although they do mention educators (teachers, professors) and social position. The other people who elicit respect are older people, family members (particularly parents), and friends. Although their emphasis on parents is not as strong as that of the Arab groups studied, they are similar to the Egyptian group in that both make significantly more references to father than to mother.

Moderate recognition is given to respect as a moral value as well as to manifestations of respect such as politeness and proper behavior. For the Iranians, respect is expressed as proper behavior toward friends, parents and family members. Traditional forms are maintained much more; standing when a lady or an older person enters a room, giving up one's chair, asking permission to speak, and listening attentively are all expected behaviors.



For additional details, see Appendix I, p. 51.

High Frequency Iranian Themes

father	pedar	پدر
mother	mādar	مادر
friendship	dusti	دوستی
character	šaxsiyat	شخصیت
elder	bozorgtar	بزرگتر
position	maqām	مقام

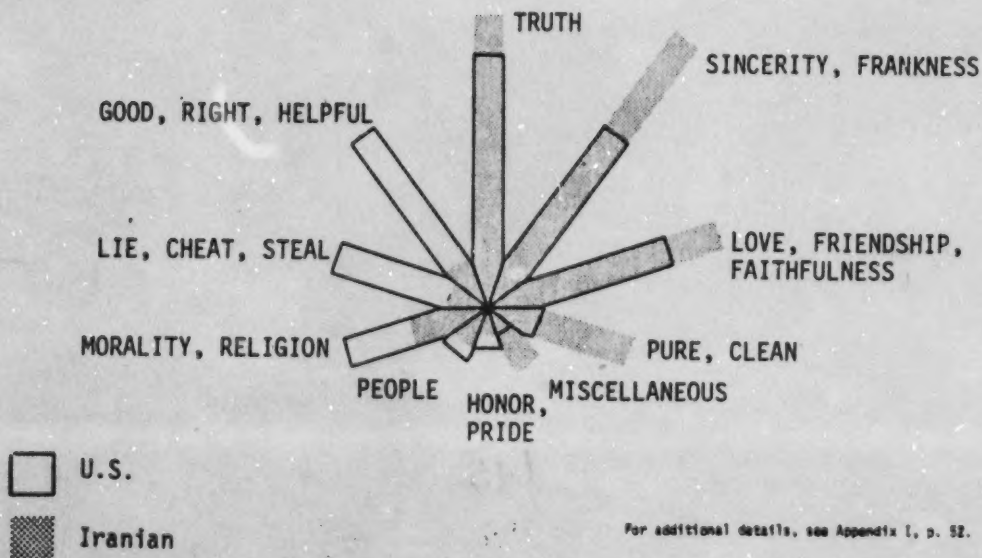
HONESTY

SEDAGĀT خدات

Honesty implies similar qualities to Iranians and Americans but the attention each gives to particular qualities varies. These variations are consistent with the general trends observed in this domain as well as in related domains such as family and society.

The central issue for both groups is truth and truthfulness. The Iranians stress the idea of integrity much more than do the Americans. To Americans honesty is more a matter of personal morality, being good and right in general. Consistent with their moral emphasis, their customary concern with making choices and contrasting alternatives, the Americans think of honesty as the opposite of such vices as lying, cheating, and stealing.

While Americans think of honesty as a quality of the individual, the Iranians pay stronger attention to the interpersonal implications of this quality. They are particularly concerned with its effect on the relationship between friends. This finding is consistent with the special importance and expectations Iranians attach to friendship.



High Frequency Iranian Themes

truth	dorosti	درستی
integrity	rasti	راستی
purity	paki	پاکی
friendship	dusti	دوستی
honesty	dorostkari	درستکاری
sincerity	yekrangi	یکرنگی

SUMMARY

Friendship is a particularly important part of the broader realm of interpersonal relations. Since the acquisition of friends is usually a matter of free choice, the prevalent patterns of friend selection can be expected to reflect deep-rooted cultural preferences. The results reported in this chapter are consistent with the findings reported in previous chapters which have indicated a number of dimensions which differentiate the American and Iranian groups with regard to their relationship to friends.

Foreign students frequently comment that friendship does not seem to mean the same thing to Americans as it does to them.* Many complain about their difficulties in establishing lasting friendships with their American peers. The more sophisticated ones may attribute the problem to cultural differences, but there is a lingering suspicion in many minds that these difficulties may stem from American ethnocentrism or racial prejudice.

Our 1975 comparative cultural analysis of Puerto Rican and Anglo American students clearly showed that the domain of friendship is one on which the two groups were particularly far apart.** The psychological literature on this matter is relatively sparse, but there are indications that the problem may stem from the development of different types of interpersonal relations and social experiences starting from the earliest stages of socialization or enculturation.

For Americans, friendship is pursued to a large extent in response to an internal need to have meaningful and emotionally satisfying interpersonal relations; a need for fun and entertainment, a need not to be alone as an isolated individual. In this respect the ready availability of suitable friends (the more the better) is the central motive. The main context of friendship is leisure and entertainment. Permanence is not a major requirement; rather it is diversity and availability adapted to the conditions of mobility and transience.

* Ahmad Abu-Hilal, "Friendship in America," paper presented at XIXth International Congress of Applied Psychology, Munich, Germany, August, 1978.

** Lorand B. Szalay and Jean A. Bryson, Subjective Culture and Communication: A Puerto Rican-U.S. Comparison (Washington, D.C.: American Institutes for Research, 1976).

In the Iranian perspective, friendship is less a changing, situation-dependent relationship, nor is it a relationship that is constantly being developed and dispensed with according to the current needs of the individual. Friendship is a far more stable tie; once established, it entails lasting obligations and commitments. Sonia Hamady put it this way: "In a society where people live on a subsistence level, it is not surprising to see that friends are sought primarily on the basis of mutual aid.*

Our findings on the Iranian meaning of friendship, including some of the related values such as trust, fidelity, and respect, show that the Iranians emphasize stability and permanence in interpersonal relationships. This is a characteristic product of a relatively more stable, traditional social environment where friendship begins at home and in the neighborhood where other members of the extended family reside. That friendships are founded on basic existential and economic considerations is evident in their perceptions not only of friendship but of brotherhood and helping as well. If one needs to go beyond family ties for one reason or another, once he has established some confidence and rapport, he becomes a loyal and faithful friend because he then views his new friends as kin substitutes.* The selective long-lasting nature of Iranian friendships contrasts vividly with the American disposition to develop new friendships spontaneously and to drop those which cease to be functional under changing conditions such as moving away or changing employment.**

With regard to the nature of the friendship tie, there is a more intense expression of affection and brotherhood from the Iranians, probably because friends comprise a smaller, more intimate group for the Iranians than for the Americans. Consistent with their emphasis on lasting ties, the Iranians stress such qualities as fidelity, faith, and faithfulness.

* Sonia Hamady, Temperament and Character of the Arabs (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1960).

** Alvin Toffler, Future Shock (New York: Random House, 1970).

The Iranians' perceptions of interpersonal relations within and outside of the family are similar to those of Egyptians and Jordanians. All place particularly heavy emphasis on friendship.* Iranians use the term friendship to include relationships with members of the family as well as with members of the opposite sex in a social situation where friendship ties develop slowly, usually through family contacts, and are not readily dissolved or replaced.

Despite this broad use, friendship has little or no sexual connotation for the Iranians. As previously observed even love has a more platonic meaning, more in the sense of amor than eros, compared to the American meaning of the word.

While to Americans togetherness, being together, is important in itself, to Iranians sharing, assistance, help are of greater salience. Such conclusions are supported by findings which show that in several contexts, such as in friends, brotherhood, and help as well as in the context of family, Iranians stress the importance of cooperation and working together. While help means to Americans assistance given mainly in emergency situations, to Iranians it involves continuous reliance on a small circle of family members and friends. For Iranians, helping implies mutual cooperation and assistance.

Although some of the above perceptions and attitudes about friendship were also found to be characteristic of Arab students, there are here a few attributes which appear to be differentially applicable to Iranians.

First of all, Iranians do not show the same intensive emotionality and affect-loading as the previous Arab samples. Furthermore, they place particularly strong emphasis on truth, faith, and faithfulness. Trusting someone appears to be a particularly important consideration, and here trust is apparently not only a matter of attitude or motivation. Iranians emphasize constantly the intellectual foundation as well. They speak of meeting of minds, differences in mind, mutual thinking, thinking alike. The fact that Iranians refer to friends as comrades

* Lorand B. Szalay et al., U.S.-Arabic Communication Lexicon on Cultural Meanings, 1978; The Hispanic American Cultural Frame of Reference, 1978. For complete references see Appendix II, pp. 15-17.

indicates they are implying that a friend has similar views, political ideals. Similarly enemy implies disagreement, lack of intellectual consensus. While this may be less true of less educated segments of Iranian society, nevertheless our data indicate that the student sample used in this study does place strong emphasis on similarity of views, similarity of mind.

The American and Iranian perceptions of Friendship reflect the culturally dominant mode of establishing rapport and relating to other people. In the American social milieu friendship is more a matter of individual choice based primarily on the individual's personal need for companionship and affective ties. In the Iranian environment friendship is more essential to existence and survival. It is the foundation of people's cooperation and mutual support in all domains of life in a milieu where long term personal connections are the basis for common ventures.

It is understandable that under such conditions the quality of the underlying relationship, the associated roles of trust, fidelity and honesty acquire special importance.

CHAPTER 8

SOCIETY

The previous chapters have addressed such concepts as family, friendship, and love---social units and ties which are usually highly affect-laden and particularly important to people. The present focus is on society at large. We are interested in exploring how Iranians and Americans relate to society and to people in general. How do they perceive larger social units like community and society? What meaning and importance do they attach to such social values as equality, freedom and justice?

There is a growing recognition that people acquire most of their social values through early experiences within the family. Since in the previous chapters we have gained considerable insights into Iranian and American interpersonal relations within the family and among friends, it is interesting to explore to what extent the cultural dispositions observed at the level of family are operative at the level of society. The literature is replete with conflicting theories and our own previous findings raise additional relevant issues: Do American individualism and the Iranian family-group orientation produce dispositions to view society differently? How do Iranians and Americans view society's structure? How does American individualism mix with the American tradition of egalitarianism? Does the Iranian family and social group orientation predispose them to view socialism as an attractive philosophy?

PEOPLE

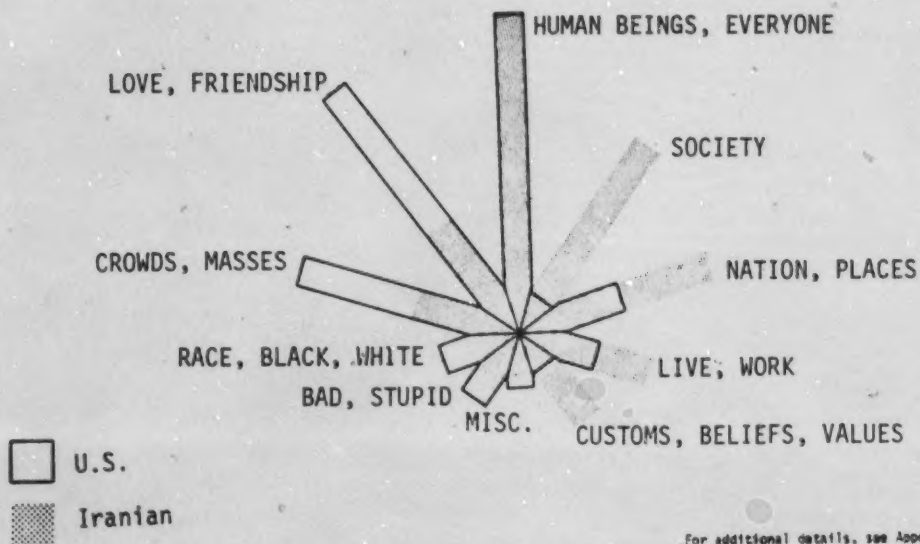
MARDOM

مردم

People as a collective noun refers to all humans. However, the individual and social categories into which they are placed is influenced by differing views of the social universe. The Iranians think of people in more general terms, such as human beings, men, women, individuals. Americans describe people in more personal terms: me, us, we, them, children, neighbors, etc.

The word mardom, people, in Farsi is used mainly in social or political contexts and contrary to the English term, it is not used to refer to any family groups. The English word people in an expression like "my people" refers to family members, relatives and friends. The same expression in Persian will use more precise words like famil and xanevade (family), bastegan (relatives) or dustan (friends and acquaintances, which are more family and friend related). The word mardom would not be appropriate in such contexts.

Americans show stronger awareness of or possibly concern with the number of people, many thinking of them as crowds or masses. In partial contrast the Iranians divide people into two main social collectives. One is society, which in their view is formed of



For additional details, see Appendix I, p. 53.

individuals interrelated to each other. The other large category is the nation, which suggests a cohesiveness based on common ethnic origin and on nationalism.

Both of these large collective categories attract little attention from Americans. It is apparent from their diverse reactions that Americans view people as a diversity of individuals, who relate to each other on an individual basis. Everyone is a potential friend or partner whom they want and need and may love. The Iranians stress these primary ties less but think of unity and togetherness. They also mention collective goals such as cooperation and progress.*

Again, Americans think of people in terms of personal, individual contacts, while the Iranians think of people primarily as members of large communities, societies, nations. They intellectually recognize people as being individuals, but their approach to them appears to be less direct, less individual and is based largely on their identification with a particular group, society, or nation.

People and society are very closely related concepts in the Iranian culture. Society for Iranians can be individuals grouped in the form of a small community or into a nation.**

High Frequency Iranian Themes

society	ejtema	اجتماع
nation	mellat	ملت
human beings	ensan	انسان
population	jamiyat	جمعیت
mass	tude	توده
friends	dustan	دوستان

* James A. Bill and Carl Leiden, The Middle East Politics and Power (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1974).

** P. M. Holt et al., eds., The Cambridge History of Islam, Volume 2 (London: Cambridge University Press, 1970).

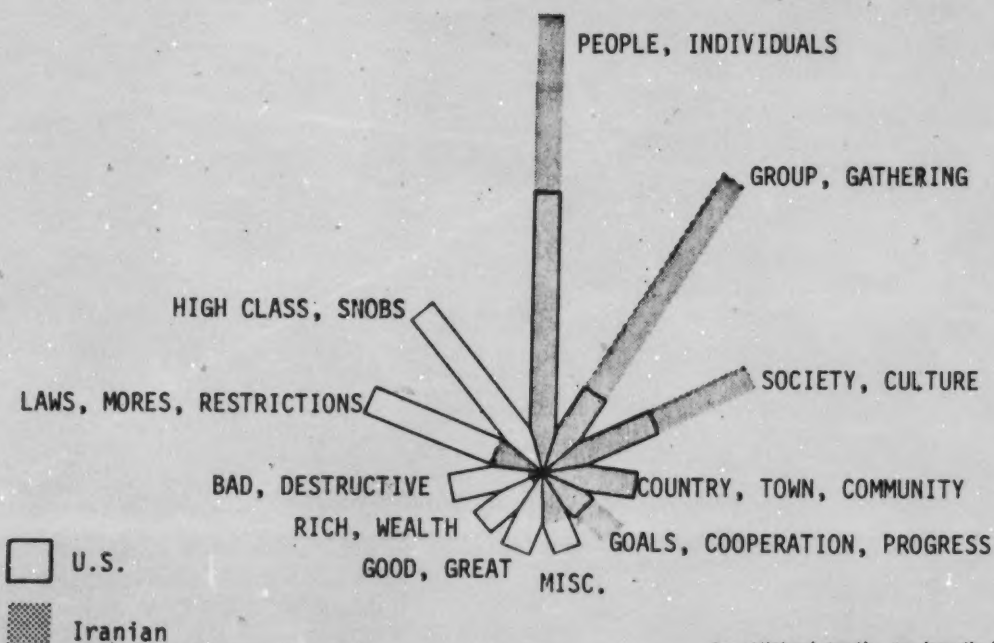
SOCIETY

EJTEM' اجتماع

While society may refer to selected social associations (e.g., the Philosophical Society) or to all the people of a particular country, both Iranians and Americans have primarily society at large in mind.

Society is a particularly important concept to the Iranians. Their major focus is on the human element. The Iranians concentrate much more than the Americans on the people who form the society at large, both as individuals and as groups. They point to the family and to the men and women as important elements of society. Iranians also stress the cohesive forces of society and the importance of working together to bring about progress.*

The organization of society seems to capture the American attention. They show more interest in the structure and social stratification of society with emphasis on the upper class, high society elite. Along this same line, they think of the rich and wealthy. They show more concern over the laws, mores, and restrictions which society imposes on its people. American attitudes toward society are ambivalent: on the one hand they describe society as good, great and just; on the other, they criticize it as bad and



For additional details, see Appendix I, p. 54.

crazy. Iranians do not use an equivalent expression to "high society" or the French, "la haute societe," which generates some connotations of class distinction. The Farsi word for society is derived from jam (gather), and it means gathering as well as society. It refers to all social gatherings as well as a particular social group.

Generally speaking, the Iranians show a stronger disposition to view society as a large unit and high-level abstraction, while the Americans are inclined to think of society in less inclusive and more specific terms. However, the Iranians' concern with progress and education indicates that despite its abstract nature, society plays a more active role in their search for solutions to human and social problems.

High Frequency Iranian Themes

people	mardom	مردم
gathering	tajamo'	تجمع
group	daste	دسته
family	xānevāde	خانواده
individual	fard	فرد
life	zendegi	زندگی

* P. M. Holt et al., eds., The Cambridge History of Islam, Volume 2 (London: Cambridge University Press, 1970).

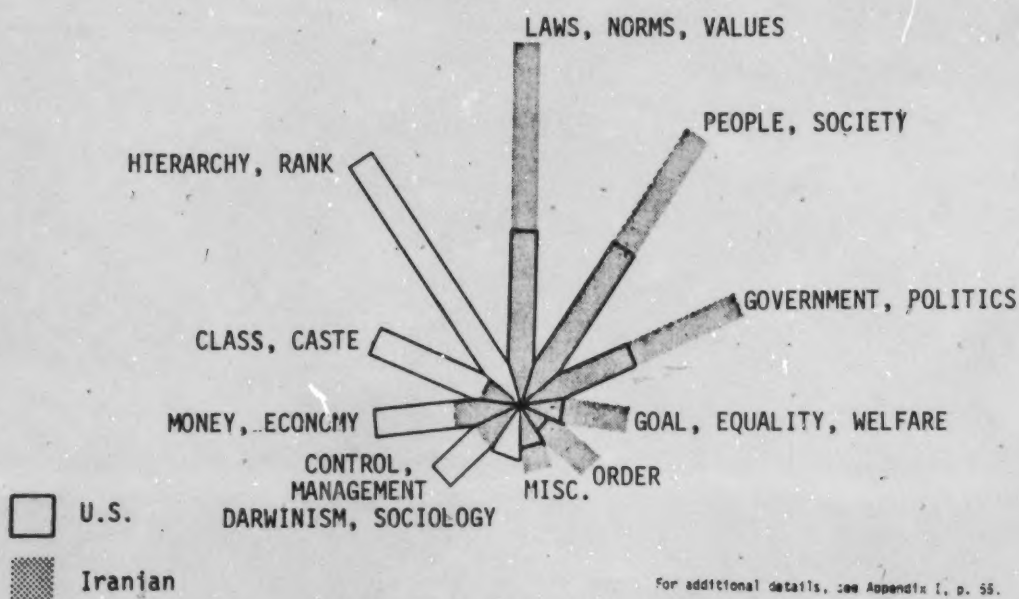
SOCIAL ORDER

NEZĀME EJTEMĀI نظام اجتماعی

Social order is a more meaningful concept to the Iranian group. The reasons become clear from the analysis. From the Iranian perspective, social order as well as society at large show a great deal of subdivision and differentiation. The Americans think more of social class differences and of the hierarchial structure of society---high, middle, and low classes. The Iranian frame of reference appears to be more populist and politically oriented.

In the context of social order as well as society, Iranians show a strong concern with the people, society, and social institutions. Iranians also see closer relationship between social order and the government than the Americans do. This may be related to the Iranians' inclination to stress the role of the laws of society including such underlying psychological factors as values, principles, and overall attitudes. The Iranians also emphasize ideals and goals more such as friendship and equality.

Americans again consider money and wealth as important factors in social order. They find Darwin's theory relevant to this topic and view social order as more sociologically oriented, further reflections of their concern with class differentiation and internal organization.



As the word ejtema (society) does not strongly imply any social class distinctions, the expression nezame ejtemai covers much more the political law and order and different values within the society than the internal structure of the society.

High Frequency Iranian Themes

law	ganun	قانون
government	hokumat	حکومت
society	ejtema' - jamee'	اجتماع
people	mardom	مردم
culture	farhang	فرهنگ
foundation	bonyad	بنیاد

POSITION

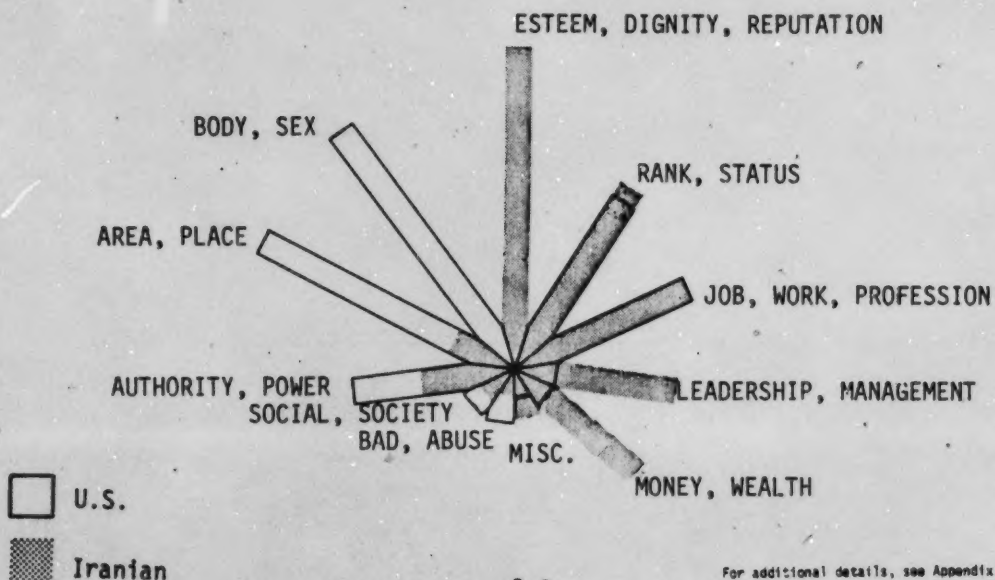
MAQÂM



This subject has distinctly higher dominance and meaningfulness for the Iranian group, despite the fact that the English word has several distinct meanings, while the Farsi word has only one. To both groups position means primarily social position. The English word also denotes body posture, relative physical location and a job. In the Iranian culture, position implies a high ranking position within the society.

Americans and Iranians agree that position implies rank and status and that it is closely related to a person's occupation or profession. The difference here is merely that while the Americans think primarily of a specific job, the Iranians see position more as a function of prestigious professions such as being a professor or medical doctor.

Because of their greater emphasis on elevated position, the Iranians naturally think of leadership and management roles. Along this same rationale they stress the social psychological correlates which go along with high position---namely esteem, dignity, greatness, reputation, respect, glory, etc. Along a third related dimension they consider the economic/financial advantages of a high position (i.e.,



money, wealth). It is clear that in their view the social correlates are particularly salient and attractive.

For the Iranians, social position also means "station in life". An older person, a more educated or experienced individual, a popular individual or a professor is said to occupy a higher social position because of the value placed on him by society. While wealth is an indication of social position, authority, power, dignity, good deeds and other factors also play an important part in the establishment of social position.

Another interesting aspect of the role social position plays in the Iranian culture is that each Iranian knows his own and other individual's stations in life and everyone abides by the unwritten rules in ceremonies and gatherings in dealings with the individuals, even in seating arrangements.

High Frequency Iranian Themes

money	pul	پول
position	rotbe	رتبه
character	šaxsiyat	شخصیت
profession	šoql	شغل
reputation	šohrat	شهرت
management	êdare	اداره

EQUALITY

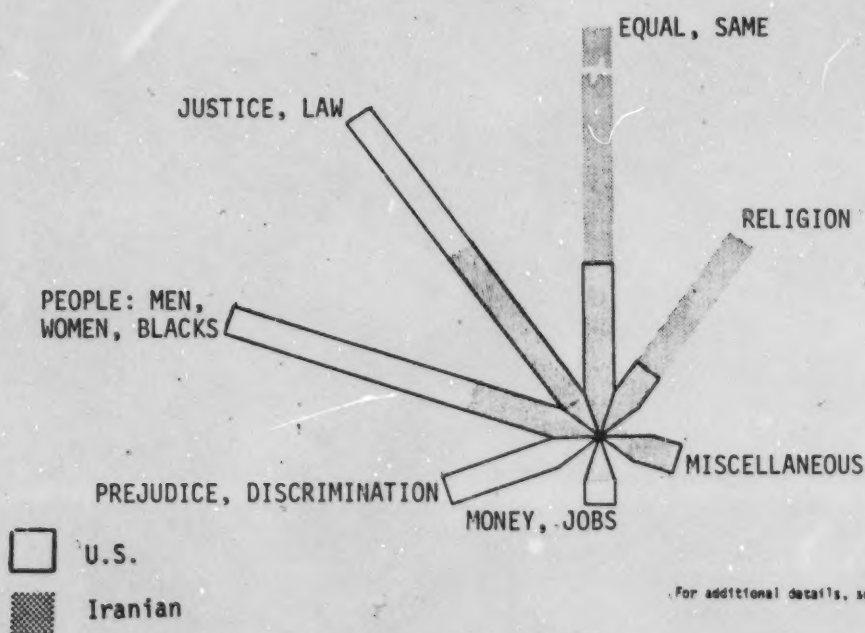
MOSĀVĀT

ساوات

As a series of recent crosscultural comparative studies indicate, there is considerable variation on the subjective interpretation of equality by different culture groups. While almost all groups take into consideration the problem of how people relate to each other, the focus of interest depends on what particular inequalities are currently attracting public attention. In certain societies racial equality is uppermost in people's minds; in others the sexual or religious equality are more timely issues.

Americans think primarily of the situation of Blacks and Jews, and the relationship of Blacks and Whites. The Iranians show more preoccupation with questions of sexual equality (men and women, brothers and sisters). Because of their focus on racial equality, the Americans also show more concern with prejudice and racism.

One reason Iranians relate equality to men and women and to brother and sister is that the Islamic religious law grants more rights to men than to women. If a woman does not abide by the wishes of her husband she is to be told the first time, ignored by sleeping alone the second time, put in isolation the third time, and the fourth time put into prison until she dies.*



For additional details, see Appendix I, p. 57.

Another aspect of inequality is the Islamic religious rule concerning a brother and a sister. According to this rule a brother inherits twice as much as a sister when a parent dies. The correlation between equality and rights is also related to this as well as other religious and social inequalities.

In the American perspective equality is very much a legal and constitutional problem. It is also a matter of moral principles and fairness. From the Iranian point of view equality is a matter of developing proper human attitudes: brotherhood, friendship, cooperation.

While the two groups show similar concerns, the more legal moralistic emphasis by the Americans and the more emotionally based views of the Iranians provide the different approaches to addressing problems involving inequalities in interpersonal relations.

The Farsi word mosavat brings to mind many compound words with the prefix ham meaning same or sameness and hamegani meaning similar and also collective. These words represent subtle differences in the ways in which human beings can be the same and equal: hamsani (similarity), hamahangi (harmony), hamsari (equal, same, partner). The prefix yek, meaning one and the same, was also evident in such responses as yeksani (same, alike), yekrangi (same color, sincere), and yekjuri (same form and shape).

High Frequency Iranian Themes

similarity	yeksāni	یکسانی
brotherhood	barādari	برادری
justice	édālat	عدالت
equality	barābāri - tasāvil	برابری - تساوی
friendship	dusti	دوستی
cooperation	hamkāri	همکاری

* Bernard Lewis, Islam in History: Ideas, Men, and Events in the Middle East (New York: The Library Press, 1973); Hamid Algar, Religion and State in Iran 1785-1906 (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1969).

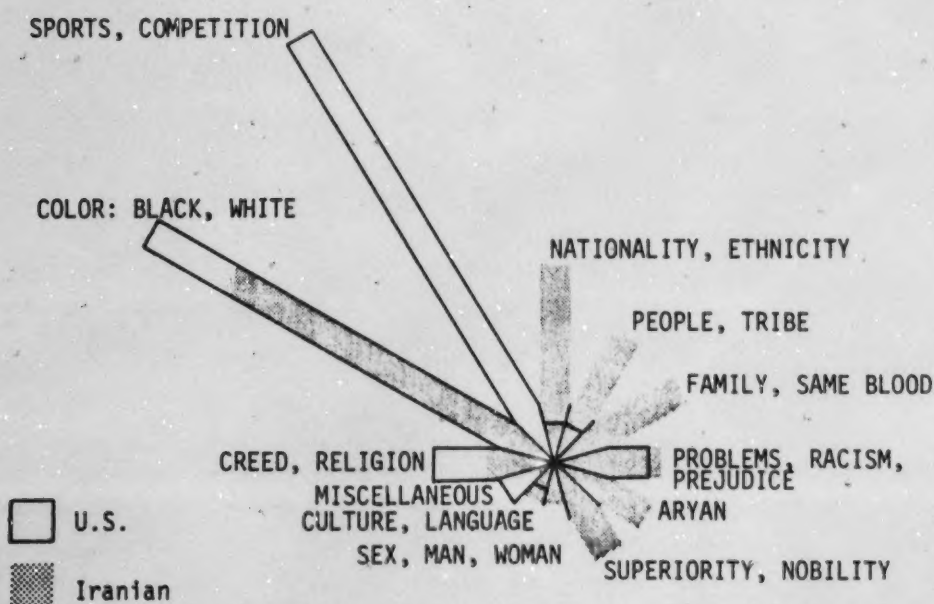
RACE

NEZĀD

نژاد

Race has a dual meaning in English involving sports and competition as well as ethnic-racial identity. Despite this dual meaning, race is still a narrower and more limited concept to Americans than to Iranians. Beyond sports and competition, Americans are preoccupied with the Black and White races and their relationship. Concern with such racial problems as prejudice, racism, and Nazism are shared by both Americans and Iranians. Americans also relate race to the problems of creed and religion, probably stemming from American tradition and the U.S. Constitution. To Iranians race refers specifically to different groups or mankind and the basic cultural features and background of each race. For the Iranians race implies a distinction of color, blood, family, tribe, ethnicity and nationality.

The Iranians also pay strong attention to the Black and White races, but they also identify other racial and national groups as well. Basically in their mind nationality, ethnicity, and race are more closely interrelated than for Americans. They distinguish race not only by skin color but also by geographic region and origin: Oriental, Asiatic, Indian, etc. Because national identity is partially based on the same origin, same blood and genes, race is also viewed as an extension of family. Furthermore, tribal identity and



belonging to a sect are considered intermediary units which tie the individual to his race or nation.

This inclination to view national identity as a sort of racial identity is characteristic of other traditional societies. Our 1971 study of South Koreans was particularly revealing on this point.*

This position can naturally lead to ethnocentric attitudes emphasizing the superiority of a particular race, as in the case of Hitler and national socialism before World War II. The Iranians are apparently fully aware of this philosophy as reflected by sizable references to Hitler, Jews and Aryans.

High Frequency Iranian Themes

black	siyāh	سیاه
white	sefid	سفید
religion	mazhab	مذهب
Aryan	āriāi	آریایی
noble	asil	اصل
superiority	bartari	برتری

* Lorand B. Szalay, W. T. Moon, and J. A. Bryson, Communication Lexicon on Three South Korean Audiences: Social, National, and Motivational Domains (Kensington, Md.: American Institutes for Research, 1971).

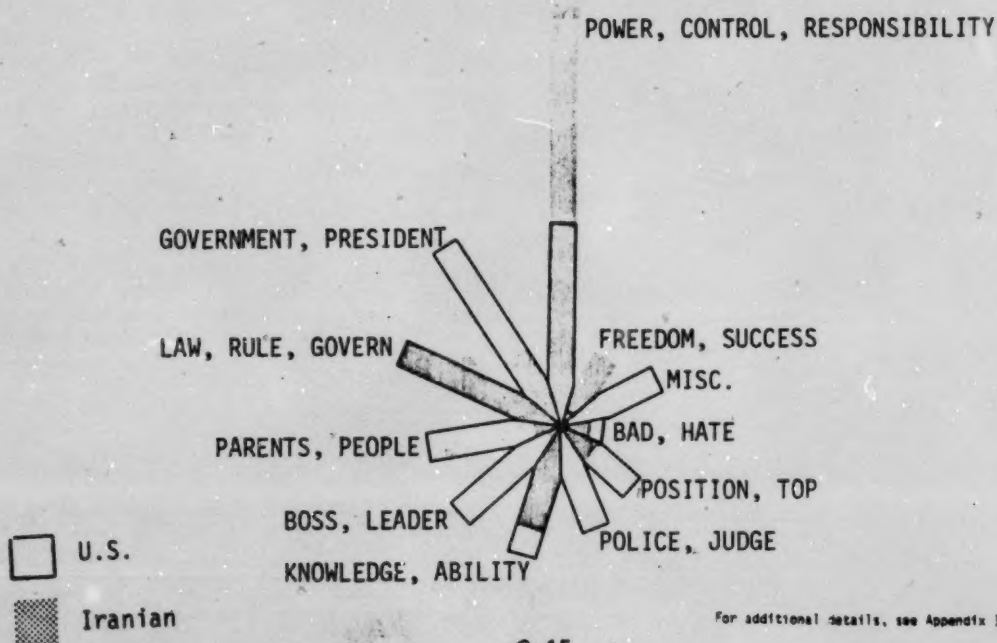
AUTHORITY

EQUEDAR اقتدار

The important difference in the Iranian and American views of authority is that while the Iranians have a less differentiated, more centralized view of authority, the Americans think of several types of authority exerted in different spheres of life.

Both recognize the authority of the law, of rules and regulations. Americans also consider knowledge and expertise as a type of authority. Furthermore, to both groups, dispensing knowledge through the educational system conveys authority although the Americans stress this aspect somewhat more. It is somewhat of a surprise to find that Americans recognize parental authority, while the Iranians make no mention of this as a relevant dimension.

Eqtedar stands for power and authority and it is used only in the context of a sizable group. This usage conveys the idea of control and power. In the context of smaller social groups like family and paternal authority, this word would be too strong and is never used. A word meaning power and ability (godrat) derived from the same word origin is usually used in this latter context. Authority also has another distinct connotation in Farsi. It means not only power and force but also liberty and freedom of action. Further-



For additional details, see Appendix I, p. 59.

more, the Iranians do not include the authority of police or judges, that is, those entrusted with implementing the law. The executive political power of the president and government also receives little attention from the Iranians. The most overriding aspect of authority for the Iranians is the power and force behind it and the use of this power to control, to govern, to influence. This seems to suggest a particularly strong concern with political power and its practical implications.

Focusing on power and force is an observation frequently made about Iranians as well as Arabs. They are even said to "worship" strength and to have little compassion for weakness.* It is interesting, however, that despite the strong association between authority and power, negative or critical reactions relating to the abuse of power are minimal.

High Frequency Iranian Themes

power	qodrat	قدرت
govern	hokumat	حکومت
ability	tavānāi	توانائی
exertion	zurgu'i	زورگوشی
inspection	sarkešī	سرکشی
influence	nofuz	نفوذ

* Sonia Hamady, Temperament and Character of the Arabs (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1960).

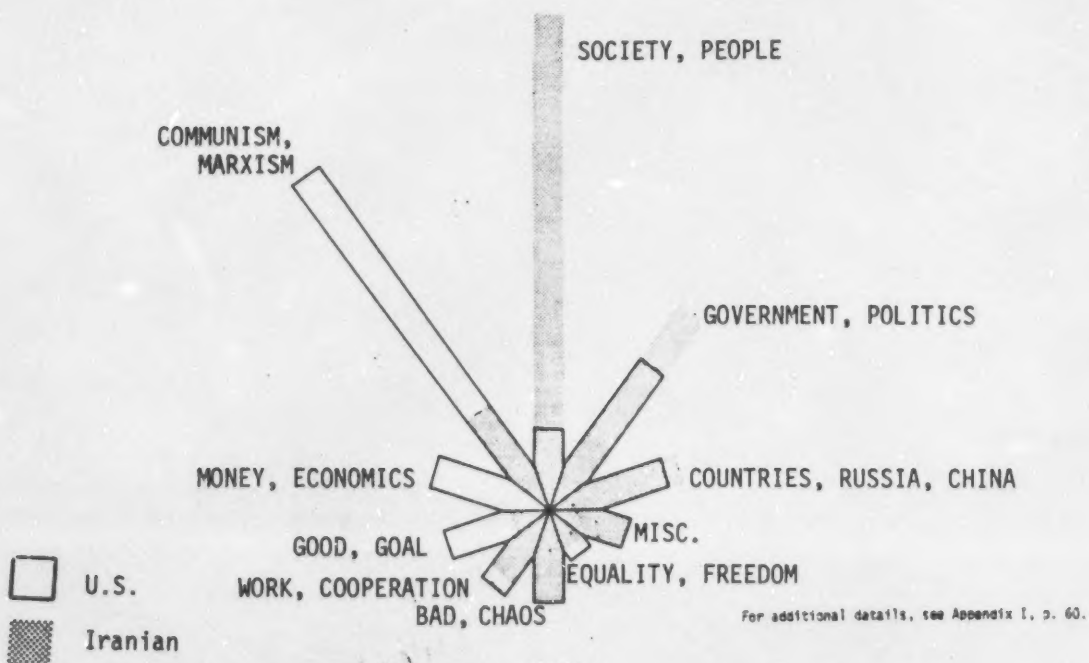
SOCIALISM

SOSIÁLIZM

سوسیالیزم

The Iranians and Americans show some interesting differences in perspective on this theme. The notion of socialism is richer in content and is more dominant to Americans than to the Iranians. Americans see a closer affinity between socialism and communism and think more of Marxism and economy. The Iranians show a more social focus, not so much in terms of values and ideals like equality or freedom but by their heavy emphasis on society, people and social considerations. Further, the Iranians associate socialism with such positive goals as cooperation and participation, while Americans mention sharing and socialized medicine. While Americans think of socialism as a form of government or system, to the Iranians socialism is more a political issue affecting people's social existence. Borrowed from French, the word socialism stands for, in Persian, a political system, with emphasis on its social qualities. The Iranians see little relationship between socialism and communism; their interpretation is more focused on society and people.

Iranians are not entirely positive about socialism; although some describe socialism as a goal and as a source of hope, others call it a mistake, leading to chaos and imperialism. Similarly, Americans give mixed evaluations of socialism as simply good or bad.



Americans identify socialism more with communism, and in their eyes economic and governmental considerations appear to be salient characteristics. Iranians view socialism from the angle of the people, their relationship to society and their need for cooperation.

High Frequency Iranian Themes

societies	ējtemā	اجتماع
government	hokumat	حکومت
people	mardom	مردم
Russia	śoravi	شوروی
country	keśvar	کشور
participation	ēšterāk	اشتراک

SUMMARY

To assess how our Iranian and American groups view and evaluate their social environment, we have studied their images of social units as well as their perceptions of some critical social values. The social units explored here (people, society) should be considered together with those (self, family, etc.) analyzed in the context of other domains.

Iranians place considerably more importance than do Americans on large collectives such as society and nation. These collectives act as strong forces of cohesion and identification which make people view themselves as integral parts of the larger whole. The Iranian tendency to emphasize social attributes logically follows from this social orientation. They display a predominantly positive attitude toward society which they see as a natural framework for mutual help and cooperation. As a somewhat natural extension of this posture, Iranians also pay more attention to other large social collectives such as nation and humanity. Not only do they stress humanness as an important quality of the person, but also they more often think of people as members of a human collective, as human beings.

Americans are less favorably disposed toward large social units; they pay them less attention, are more critical and skeptical about them, and view them with a quite different frame of mind. Regarding society, Americans are much more reserved and skeptical than Iranians. They see society as an impersonal structure, something more or less imposed on people's natural existence.

Americans are more inclined to think in terms of people than of large collectives. They prefer to view people free of organizational constraints, as individuals who can be engaged, dealt with, worked with, and enjoyed on a strictly personal-individual basis and on the basis of common needs and shared interests. They show a strong desire to interact with people, to establish rapport, and to develop affective ties on a one-to-one basis.

Americans see people as single unaffiliated individuals, while the Iranians view them more as members of particular social groups, family, society, nation. Iranians emphasize the culture, customs,

values, and religion shared by people as well as work, cooperation, and common goals.

Americans see society as made up of differentiated social classes while Iranians see it more as groups of people who are related by origin, shared identification, and common goals. The Iranian image of society is more unitary, and special emphasis is placed on cohesive forces: unity, affective ties, national/ethnic identity.

There are fairly consistent indications in this chapter that Americans take a more neutral, matter-of-fact approach toward society and social values. They focus on social problems involving racial, religious, social and economic differences, particularly the racial conflict between Blacks and Whites. In their differentiated, stratified image of society, Americans show a clear awareness of social class and status differences without expressing much disapproval or strong negative emotions. With emphasis on the individual, goals and moral standards occupy an important position in the American view of society. Guidance and regulation are the functions of society as Americans would have it, while it provides for ideals and sentiments for Iranians. These differences are not just of degree but of kind. The American view of society is characteristically unemotional, unideological, and individualistic in comparison with the Iranian view of society which is more globalistic, abstract and affect laden. The Iranians see a close affinity to nation, government, political organization, and leadership. The high ideals of equality and justice are mixed with such traditional values as authority, faith and brotherhood.

Iranians are more preoccupied with power and politics, looking at them from the angle of collective, national objectives. Conversely, as previously noted, Americans are more preoccupied with human, social problems, and approach them from the perspective of moral considerations such as fairness, racial prejudice, etc. The Iranians' emphasis on authority and power is perhaps related to the greater political power resting in the hands of the relatively few in the Iranian context, contrasted with the situation in America

of social mobility and the hope of rising higher on the social scale. In other words, Iranians seem to have a view of social opportunity in political terms. Americans, to the contrary, see the same opportunities as achievable by their own strength and resources rather than through others.

The differences between the two culture groups' social frames of reference may be further illustrated by the meaning socialism has for them. For Iranians, socialism is less a political issue than it is for Americans; rather, it is more a social philosophy with strong emphasis on society and on the positive values of the social collective.

In the American perspective, authority has its primary roots in people, their roles (parent, teacher, boss), their personality attributes, and their potential for leadership, power, position, etc. In contrast, for the Iranians, the major source of authority is power.

CHAPTER 9

GOVERNMENT, POLITICS

In light of the recent political developments in Iran, this domain has special timely relevance. Much of the world was puzzled by the momentum of political developments which led to the 1978 revolution and swept away a government thought by many to be stable and firmly in control.

Were there antigovernment sentiments observable at the time of our testing a year prior to the revolution? Were there signs of opposition and dissent despite the prevailing atmosphere of oppression and intimidation? Can word associations reveal the popular feelings which lay hidden below the surface of a tightly controlled political system until the spectacular eruption?

The Iranian case is particularly interesting since the political developments were largely unanticipated and caught even the well informed few by surprise. It is also important to keep in mind that we were able to conduct a study in Iran, using our inferential method, despite all the political suspicions of the government and the anxieties of a people intimidated by government bureaucrats and secret police. What can the Iranian data tell us about a politically tightly controlled situation in which opinion surveys were given up many years ago?

The following analysis relies on several clusters of word themes. Politics and government were examined to uncover some frequently overlooked differences in the U.S. and Iranian political frames of reference. Themes like royalty and revolution were revealing of the Iranian students' political attitudes prior to the revolution. The domestic subjects were analyzed in combination with foreign policy-related images to uncover their views of international relations and world politics.

Recent data obtained on comparable Egyptian and Jordanian groups provided some helpful reference points for placing the Iranian reactions in perspective.

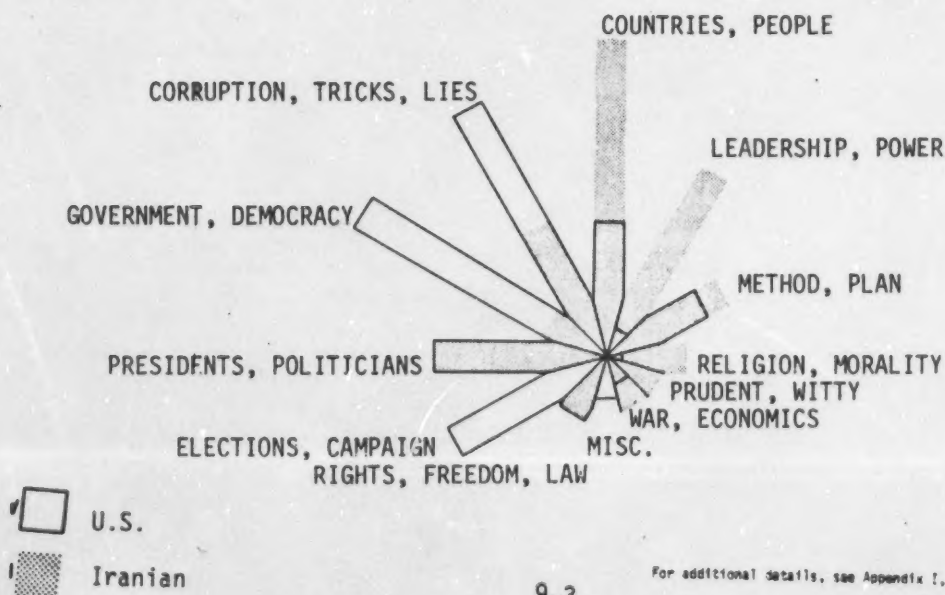
POLITICS

SIĀSAT

سیاست

From the Iranian angle, politics strongly involves the top leadership of the country or nation. The most salient Iranian concerns are with the country, society, the state, that is, with the national collective; as well as with its leadership, power, and rule. Those who exercise power are the politicians: the king, ministers, leading statesmen. From this perspective, politics is the design and method, e.g., the diplomacy, of implementing power and leadership on a national scale. As the Iranians view it, politics may involve tricks, lies, and two-faced behavior, but interestingly enough, they do not make any references to corruption, which is a central topic for the Americans. Corruption for the Iranians is mainly related to large scale misuse of the economic resources for personal reasons. There are no controls or limitations imposed on politicians in regard to how they spend their budget in order to serve the country's interests---as long as it is not for personal advantage. One has the impression that Iranians feel that politics has to use tricks and lies; they accept it without condemning it. Actually, they seem impressed by such characteristics as ingenuity, wit and expedience.

The expressions siasat (politics) and siasatmadar (to be a politician) are used not only in regard to the political system or structure



For additional details, see Appendix I, p. 61.

of a country but to any type of interactions. The expression "to use politics" or "to be a good politician" are very commonly applied to family life, business, to social situations as well as to political activities.

The exact word "poly-tik" has been adopted in the Farsi language, and it refers to tricks, to cheating and to cleverness. Often it implies staying one step ahead of the other person. Iranians also have mixed feelings toward politicians who are viewed as being smart, clever, organized, socially alert, and at the same time as having some of the same negative qualities which Americans see in their politicians.

High Frequency Iranian Themes

politicians	siāsatmadār	سیاستدار
country	kešvar	کشور
king	šāh - pādešāh	شاه - پادشاه
power	qodrat	قدرت
religion	mazhab	مذهب
tricks	neyrang	نیرنگ

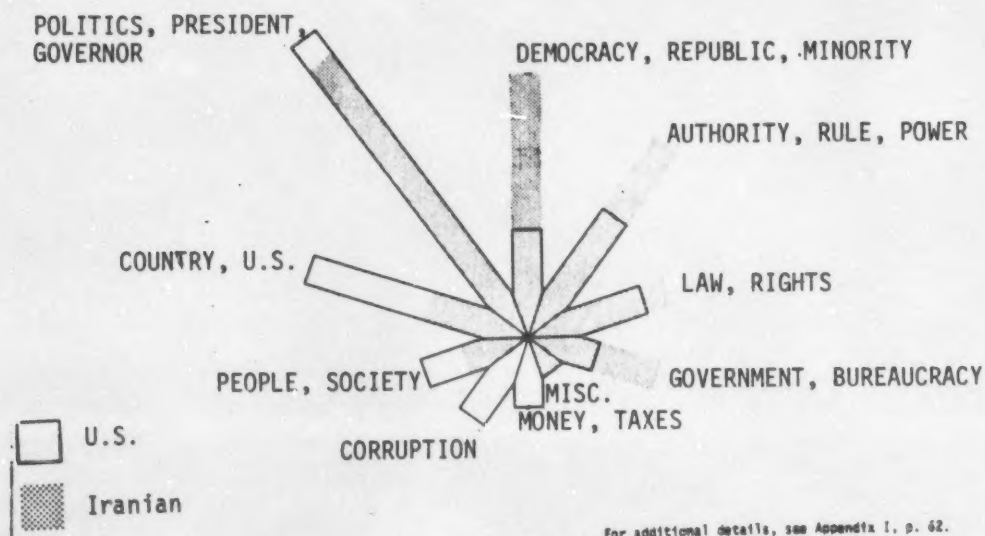
GOVERNMENT

HOKUMAT

حکومت

In their images of government, Americans and Iranians show a similarly strong general concern with politics and leadership. Americans focus on politics and the political process. The Iranians' main concern is with leadership, its form and its personal representation. Americans think primarily of U.S. presidents, the congress, and the senate. In contrast to the Americans' recognition of several levels of government (local, state, federal), the Iranians think exclusively of a central government and make explicit references to its close relationship to country and nation. This may be due to the fact that the Farsi word used here means rule or ruling, which has traditionally been centralized. A better translation might have been dowlat, which refers to government in general.

The Iranians view government as a single central institution, a large administrative, military organization founded on authority, sovereignty and power. Its relationship to law and the constitution also receives considerable attention. It is quite interesting to note that the Iranian students, responding in the controlled political environment of an autocratic monarchy, express strong tendencies to consider alternatives which are republican and democratic. Compared to the relatively modest references to monarchy, which represented



For additional details, see Appendix I, p. 62.

the true case at the time the students were tested, the heavy references to democracy and republic suggest an intensive interest in apparently more attractive political alternatives.

Such impressions are consistent with the rich, positive meanings given to republic and democracy. The high appeal value of these political alternatives seems to be further supported by the observation that while the Americans are preoccupied with economically motivated moral defects of government (i.e., corruption, Watergate), the Iranians show more concern with political oppression (dictatorship, despotism). The general trend of reactions suggests that in a freer political atmosphere such implicitly critical reactions might have been more numerous.

There is an important difference in the Iranian and the American thoughts associated with government. Americans consider government more as a part of the people of the country, with their chosen representatives in various offices to serve everyone. The Iranians, on the other hand, consider government to be a separate entity, a body to create rules and regulations, to govern and lead and to communicate. It cannot be reached or communicated with except through an individual friend or relative who might be involved in one or more aspects of its operation. This relates to the general "person oriented" tendency of Iranians as opposed to "organization" or "thing oriented" Americans. For example, if in need of money, the American will go to a bank or a loan organization; the Iranian will always go to a friend.

High Frequency Iranian Themes

leadership	rahbari	رهبری
democracy	demokrāsi	دموکراسی
republic	jomhuri	جمهوری
law	qānun	قانون
country	kešvar	کشور
politics	siāsat	سیاست

LEADERSHIP

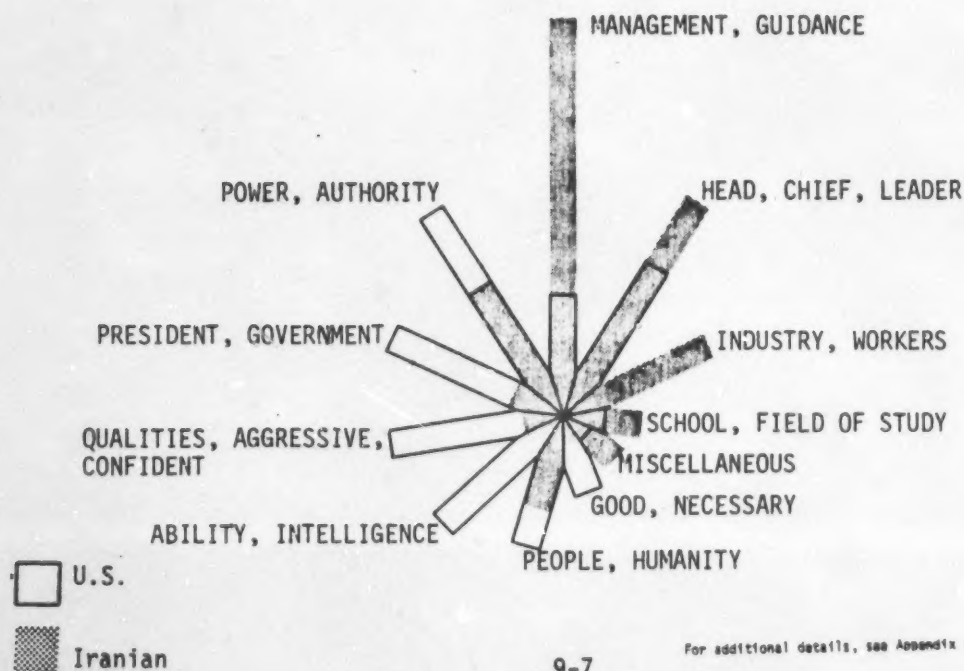
MODIRIYAT - RAHBARI

مدیریت - رهبری

The Farsi word modiriat apparently denotes leadership in a predominantly administrative, industrial, managerial context. Although the theme is meaningful and popular with the Iranians (as indicated by the high dominance score), it bears little on leadership as exercised in various social and political contexts. A better word choice would have been rahbari, which also means leadership in Farsi. It was a large response here, clearly indicating the relationship Iranians see between the two concepts.

The American meaning of leadership includes substantially greater emphasis on authority and power, on president and government, while the Iranians stress more the apparently apolitical contexts such as management, guidance; industry, workers; school, field of study.

There are two main predominantly U.S. components which appear interesting even if the stimulus themes used in English and Farsi do have some apparent semantic disparities. One component suggests that Americans show a stronger preoccupation with leadership qualities, i.e., being honest, being confident, commanding respect. A second component, which is related to the first, deals with leadership



For additional details, see Appendix I, p. 63.

ability and intelligence. Americans apparently assign greater importance to attributes which are partially inherent and also developed through practice and training.

High Frequency Iranian Themes

management	édārekardan - rahbari	اداره کردن - رهبری
chief	raīs	رئیس
humanity	'ensānīyat	انسانیت
order	dastur	دستور
to hold office	riyāsāt	ریاست
efficiency	kārāi	کارایی

ROYALTY

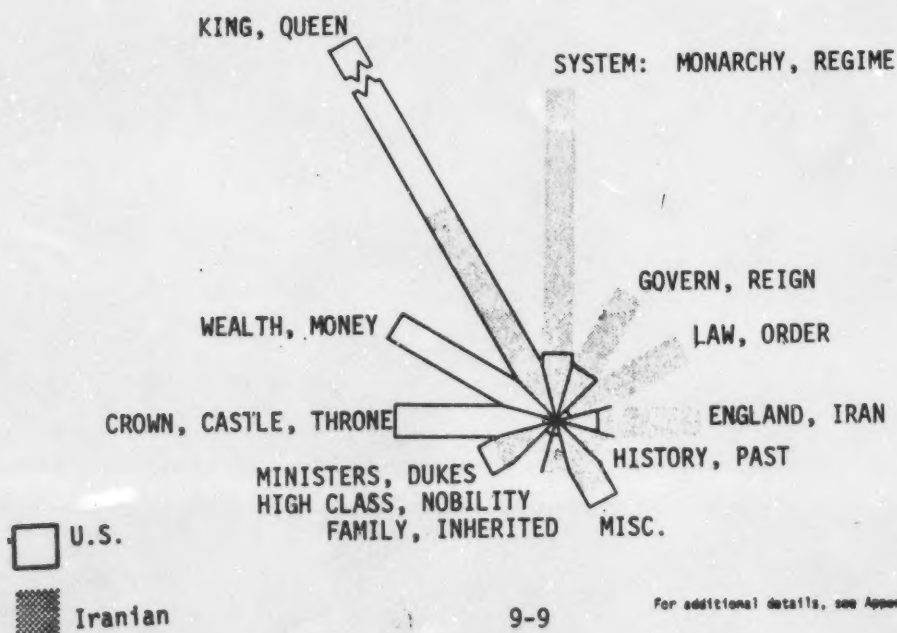
ŠĀHANŠĀHI

شاهنشاهی

This theme touches upon a particularly sensitive area in a politically controlled monarchy where criticism directed at the royal family was not tolerated. There are several indications that indeed the Iranian students were less than relaxed and spontaneous in their reactions.

The significant difference in the total response scores shows that the Americans with their traditionally antimonarchistic attitudes gave more attention to this theme than the Iranians despite its media coverage and publicity in Iran. This is obviously paradoxical and indicative in itself. Similarly, Americans show a heavy concentration of interest in the kings and queens compared to a much more moderate attention given to the royal family by the Iranians.

Generally, the Americans' reactions include all the elements that might be expected based on romantic fairy tales---crowns, castles, thrones, wealth, nobility, etc. As an interesting contrast, the Iranians, who had at the time of the testing their own royal family, gave surprisingly little attention to these classical details which received extensive exposure through the centralized



Iranian communication industry. Iranians' interest is concentrated on the political systemic dimension: the monarchy.

As indicated by the responses, šāhanšāhi has a very close synonym in Farsi: saltanati. The meaning of this word is just as close, in some aspects even closer, to the meaning of the word royalty in English.

Although there are only a few Iranian reactions expressing overt criticism or opposition (despotic, imperialism, dictatorship), a mood of disenchantment is clearly evident from their silence, from the nearly complete lack of positive expressions of loyalty, love, or approval.

The Iranians' reaction to royalty serves to illustrate the point that in a controlled environment word associations can clearly convey true sentiments by an interesting combination of what people will say and what they are silent about.*

High Frequency Iranian Themes

monarchy	pādešāhi	پادشاهی
Iran	īrān	ایران
king	šāh	شاه
order	nezām	نظام
regime	režim	رژیم
inherited	tersi	ارثی

* F. Kazenzadeh, "Ideological Crisis in Iran," in The Middle East in Transition (Freeport, New York: Books for Libraries Press, 1971), p. 196.

INFLUENCE

NOFUZ

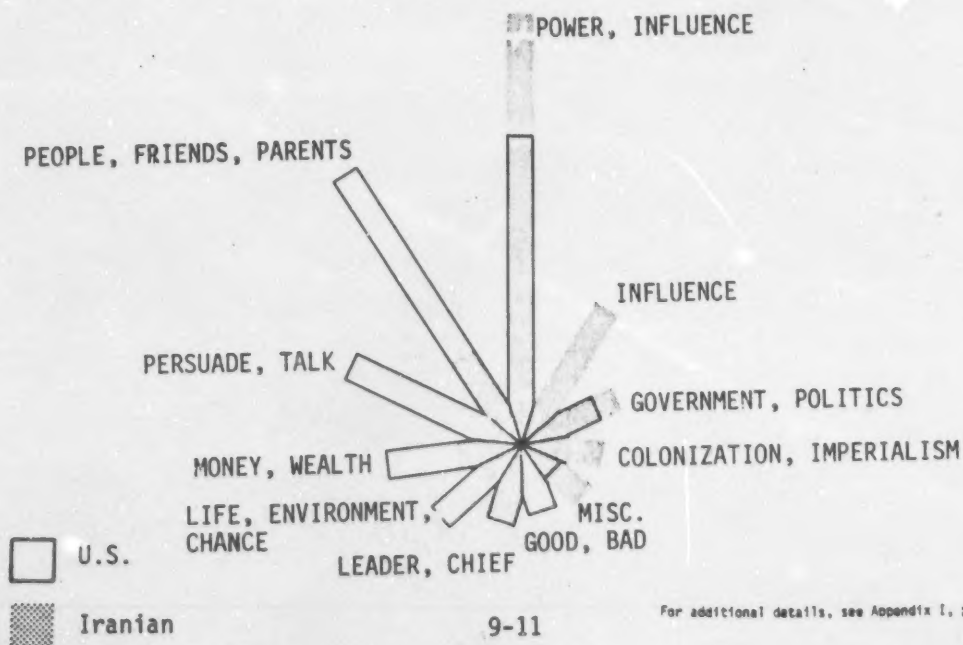
نفوذ

The American and Iranian groups appear to have a similar interest in the problems of social and political influence. The distribution of their interests shows differences which are consistent with some of our previous observations.

Iranians show a particularly keen concern with power and control. Although this includes social and interpersonal elements as well, the main focus of Iranian interest here is primarily political. They emphasize government and parties as likely sources of domestic political influence. They also express a moderate but distinct concern with influence in the field of international relations: imperialism, colonialism, occupation.

Compared to the Iranians, the American interest is more apolitical with a primary focus on interpersonal, social influence. Americans pay more attention here to friends and peers and to parents and mother, while the Iranians think primarily of the father's influence.

Another nearly exclusively American concern is in the field of persuasion and communication, the various ways of exerting mental and intellectual pressures. The attention given to these social dimensions and to the role of money and wealth is consistent with the broadly



9-11

For additional details, see Appendix I, p. 65.

observed American concern with individualistically oriented social relations.

High Frequency Iranian Themes

power	qodrat	قدرت
political connection	pārti	پارتی
penetrating	nāfez	نافذ
money	pul	پول
water	āb	آب
proficiency	tasallot	تسلط

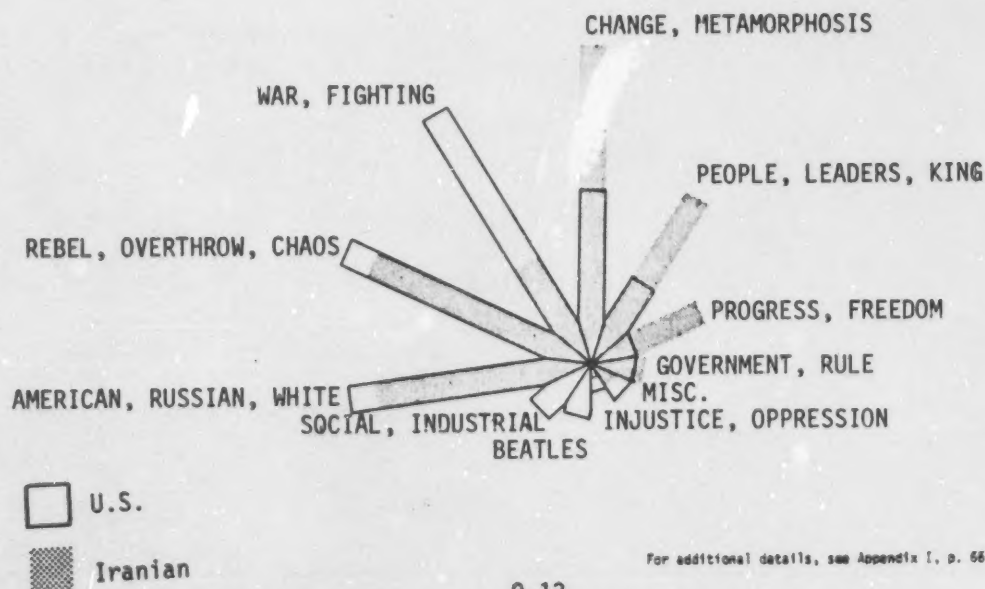
REVOLUTION

ENGELĀB

انقلاب

In contrast to the American emphasis on war, fighting, and violence, the central idea for the Iranians is metamorphosis, transformation, change. This does not mean that the Iranians would disassociate war and violence from the idea of revolution, but in their mind the occasionally violent nature of the process receives relatively little attention, while their main preoccupation is with the process of change, which appears attractive and desirable. This is consistent with the Iranian distinction between bloody and white revolutions. They place much heavier emphasis on the white revolution which implies, along the Shah's philosophy, a peaceful but accelerated move toward progress and national welfare. During their entire school years, from the first through the twelfth grades, something was in their textbooks in social studies about the great accomplishments of the Shah's so called white revolution.*

While Americans describe the change as an overthrow, revolt, rebellion, Iranians apparently give less thought to the nature of the change than to its outcome. On the positive side, change is viewed as leading to progress, freedom, peace, order, happiness; on the negative side, there is concern, anticipation of chaos, disorder.



While both Iranians and Americans have some historical precedents in mind, a major difference is that while the Americans think primarily of the American Revolution, the Iranians have primarily the Russian, French and Chinese examples in mind. Yet, as the global impression conveys, their concern over the occasionally violent cataclysmic nature of these historical antecedents is apparently outweighed by the desirability of change in light of positive social and political expectations regarding its outcome. In general, the reactions suggest that just a year prior to the revolution, the Iranian students tested had a somewhat idealized view of revolution supported by readiness and anticipation of change. A concern with possible chaos was counterbalanced by positive social and political expectations.

High Frequency Iranian Themes

metamorphosis	degarguni	دگرگونی
chaos	šures	شورش
king	šāh	شاه
people	mardom	مردم
transformation	tahavvol	تحول
white revolution	englābe sefid	انقلاب سفید

* See "Teachings of White Revolution" in the texts of prerevolution (any textbook of social studies prior to February 1979).

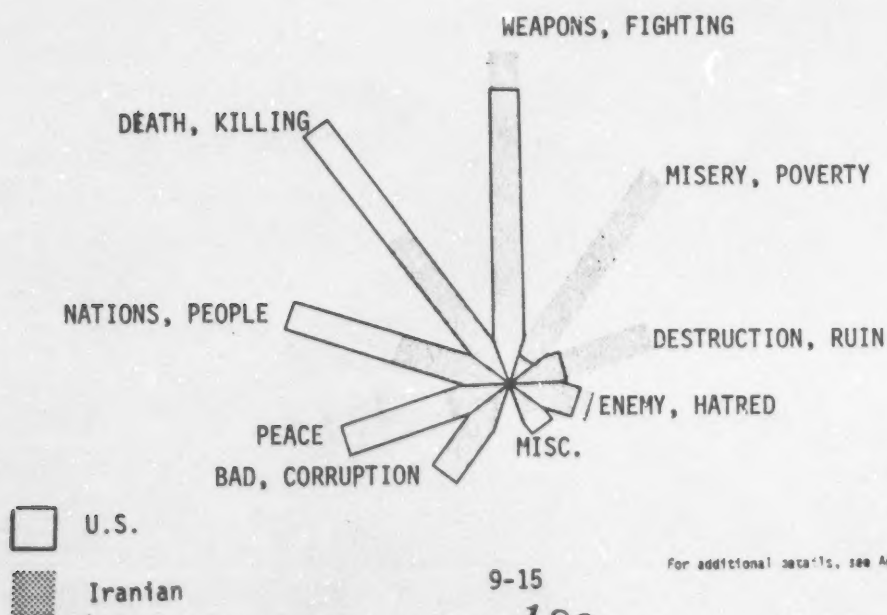
WAR

JANG

Si

The American and Iranian concerns with war show a similar intensity but reflect a somewhat different distribution of attention and interest. The American group thinks primarily of death and killing, the loss of human life. In terms of direct experience, the memory of Vietnam and to a lesser extent the world wars influenced and shaped the Americans' imagery. At the same time, the wars in the Middle East in combination with the Vietnam war, influenced the Iranian thinking.

The somewhat different nature of these experiences appears to account for at least a sizable portion of the U.S.-Iranian differences. It is interesting to note some of the missing reactions; e.g., that Americans do not immediately think of enemy in connection with war, and the Iranians do not associate killing or murder with war as the Americans do. The strong U.S. concern with the loss of human life compared with the stronger Iranian preoccupation with poverty, misery and suffering are likely consequences of the circumstances that, while the Americans suffered heavy casualties in Vietnam and the world wars, the United States was not exposed to physical material destruction or to hunger and poverty as direct consequences of warfare. At the same time, Americans and Iranians agree in their critical attitudes toward



For additional details, see Appendix I, p. 57.

war and in the close connection they perceive between weapons, military equipment and warfare.

Mediating is more culturally accepted by Iranians than by Americans. In the American idea of war, one side has to be a victor in order to show the superiority and win one's way. In the Iranian view of war, if the mediation of a third party results in an end to people killing one another and resolving their differences peacefully, then the war can be stopped without a victor.

High Frequency Iranian Themes

bloodshed	xunrizi	خونریزی
quarrel	setiz	ستیز
destroy	xarābkardan - virānkardan	خوابکردن ویران کردن
enemies	došmanān	دشمنان
corruption	fesād - xarābi	فساد - خرابی
poverty	faqr	فقر

PEACE

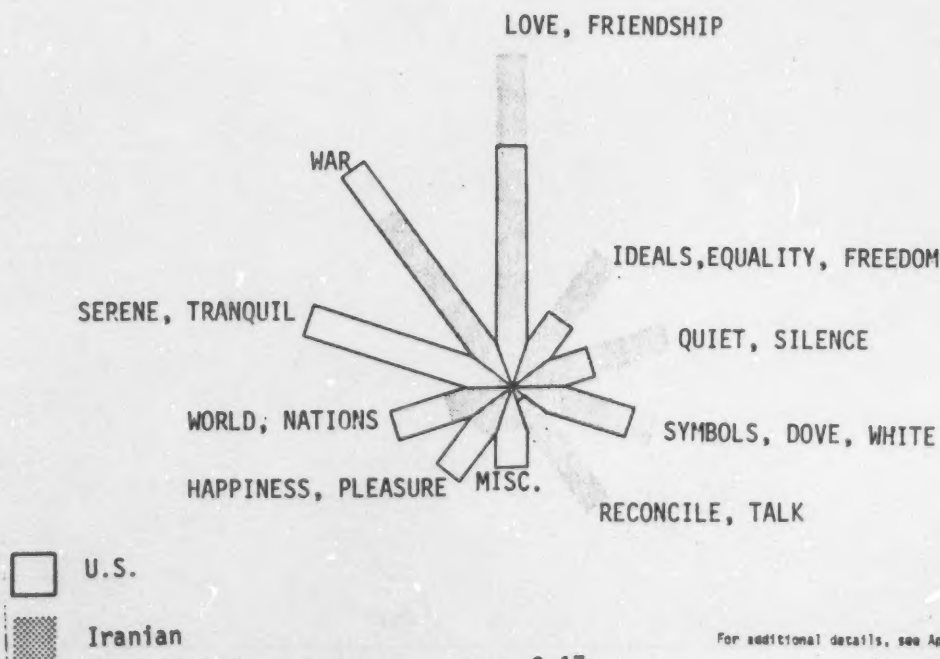
SOLH

صلح

While Americans see a particularly close relationship between peace and love, to Iranians there is a similarly close connection between peace and friendship. Similarly, Americans associate peace with calm, quiet and tranquility, while Iranians think of silence.

Along the well recognized American disposition to think in terms of contrasting alternatives, peace elicits more thoughts given to the alternative of war, just as war induces Americans to think more of peace. It is interesting that the Iranians make more references to reconciliation and peace negotiations than the Americans, who repeatedly play active roles in promoting and mediating such efforts.

Consistent with their traditional cultural values, Americans relate peace closely to the ideal of freedom, while the Iranians emphasize more equality and progress.



High Frequency Iranian Themes

friendship	dusti	دوستی
war	jang	جنگ
silence	'ārāmeš	آرامش
reconcile	āšti	آشتی
understanding	tafāhom	تفاهم
dove	kabutar	کبوتر

For years our interest in Iran has been focused mainly on the oil, on the Shah, and on Iran's role in the Middle East. The people, what they are like, how they think and feel about life, have received little attention. This is clearly reflected here in the Americans' image of Iran.

The events of 1978-79 have produced a shift. The change of the regime, the political orientation of the new nationalist and religious leaders, an unexpected turn toward a religious traditionalism, and the rejection of the leaders of the new regime soon after, were startling developments. They have demonstrated the importance of the human element. There seems to be a clear division between the upper-class, educated, more western oriented Iranians and the less educated, more religious and traditional masses. It is uncertain how widely the new leaders' political philosophy and views are shared by the Iranian population.

Official statements as well as news reports suggest that beyond rejecting their previous ruler, Iranians were also critical of the price paid for modernization. There are indications that they may also reject certain manifestations of western life as well as western political concepts and ideas.

Although our study took place ten months prior to the revolution, the findings reflect certain basic views characteristic of the students' political frame of reference. These views shape not only their attitudes toward the Shah's regime but also the relationship which is likely to develop between the students and the new revolutionary government. To construct a more coherent picture, some of the themes discussed in previous chapters will also be considered here.

First, quite apart from the question of timely political attitudes and sentiments, there are some fundamental differences in how Americans and Iranians approach politics and government. To Americans, politics is primarily a process involving the competition of conflicting ideas, opinions and interests. This competition takes

place within a framework of democratic rules and institutions developed to provide ideally optional and equitable choices and practical solutions in agreement with people's needs and wants. To achieve this objective, the basic rules of the game, the democratic process, acquires special importance as the foundation of democratic political institutions. The importance of this process and the institutions regulating the process explain the American approach to politics and government.

To Iranians, politics is more a question of leadership, an active concern with the use of power though the rules by which the use of power is regulated received little attention. Their main concern is with the ways in which a ruler handles different elements in national and international situations to establish balance and relationships.

While for Americans, politics is largely a question of electing representative leaders in the form of a well functioning government, to Iranians, politics and government are instruments of power to be used to meet the needs of national interests and leadership. The differences in the American and Iranian approaches to politics and government show a remarkable degree of consistency. This same consistency is maintained in the U.S. and Iranian views of democracy as well. Again, Americans emphasize the process--- participation, elections, voting, campaigning---and the political institutions---government, Congress, Senate while, in contrast, the Iranians emphasize a central government, involving centralized political leadership and high political ideals. Viewing democracy as a high and attractive ideal rather than a practical process is a disposition that Iranians share with Arabs as well as with people in other developing nations.*

It becomes apparent in a variety of contexts---politics, democracy, government, elections, etc.---that Americans consistently stress the importance of the political process. To place the Iranian approach in perspective, it is desirable to recognize the fundamentally different rationale of the American approach. Americans view the domain of politics more or less as a free market of ideas, as a free competition of interests. In this competitive process,

which provides equal opportunities for expressing individual preferences, making the right choices is of paramount importance. That makes all the difference between order and chaos, equity and corruption, prosperity and stagnation, democracy and dictatorship. The process provides for the translation of ideals and principles into reality. From this perspective political organizations and democratic institutions operating within the government at all levels represent the institutionalization of the democratic process. Within this system political leaders are judged by their success or failure to maintain and to promote the process.

The Iranian approach to politics, government and democracy contrasts in several ways with the American. As we have seen, Iranians think primarily in terms of the national leadership and power and pay practically no attention to the process. Their lack of interest in the process suggests that the entire rationale of a functioning democracy as Americans see it is fundamentally missing. What other alternatives may be available is not clear at this point, but it is quite unequivocal that the Iranians' positive attitude toward democracy should not be interpreted as providing a foundation for a workable democracy following the American process model. Iranians would probably not reject, and might even verbally approve declarations of the importance of electing leaders who will represent the will of the people. However, the main thrust of their thinking is more to find leaders, politicians, who will lead the country not so much along the people's will but more along their best interests.

It is particularly obvious in the Iranian perception of republic as well as democracy, that these ideals receive their popularity and meaning not through everyday practice or experience but rather through contrasts and desires. At the time of the testing, republic and democracy had a particularly high appeal as they represented ideals and hopes antithetical to the political realities of the time which were identified as dictatorship and monarchy. This is probably a major reason that the Iranians were inclined to see democracy and republic in close relationship to each other, closer than they seem

to Americans for whom the classical notion of a republic has lost some of its original appeal and meaning. The Iranians associated monarchy with dictatorship and republic with democracy, and they viewed democracy and republic as new forms of government, which would allow for new leadership and better solutions. A similar optimism, combined with their disenchantment with the Shah's government, is conveyed by the positive expectations they attached to revolution. Revolution has been viewed by the Iranians as a predominantly nonviolent transformation leading to freedom and progress, to the materialization of high expectations. While Americans view revolution mainly as a violent overthrow involving war and fighting, in this prerevolutionary period the Iranian students were looking forward to a revolution as a change which might produce chaos but which promised fulfillment of their hopes and dreams.

With regard to the political attitudes and sentiments of the Iranian students, their pronounced contrasts between monarchy and republic, between dictatorship and democracy, between despotism and freedom are quite indicative of the students' actual feelings toward the government prior to the revolution.

Although Americans generally tend to think in terms of contrasting alternatives, the above political contrasts emerged much more sharply from the Iranian reactions. They clearly indicate that this group was intensively preoccupied with problems of freedom and political oppression respectively. They are indicative of the intensity of sentiments, the depth of political dissatisfaction.

Although the Iranian students participated under conditions of strict anonymity, in the given atmosphere of political oppression and intimidation they showed considerable restraint and avoided giving overtly critical or explicitly hostile responses. This general atmosphere created a characteristic syndrome of covert, subdued but active opposition as expressed in the students' political reactions. For instance, in the context of dictatorship there are only a few direct references to specific countries, but the few that were made were to Iran.

There were few explicitly critical Iranian reactions to royalty, but it elicited no reactions at all that would convey positive feelings, identification or sympathy. Royalty did not conjure up a human face; this clearly conveyed the idea that the frame of reference of the respondents was predominantly political. The lack of positive identification suggests a general dissatisfaction, and under such circumstances lack of overt criticism suggests fear and political intimidation.

An interesting additional parameter of the political frame of reference is the attention given to domestic versus foreign policy considerations. As shown by earlier comparisons of U.S.-American groups with Koreans, Puerto Ricans, Filipinos and Arabs, there are some important and characteristic differences between Americans and people from the more traditional, developing countries.** As we have just seen, the American view of politics is characterized by preoccupation with the domestic democratic process. As is well known, American foreign policy decisions are, as a rule, generally subordinated to domestic priorities, to requirements dictated by the domestic political process.

In contrast, the meaning of politics in most developing countries has a stronger focus on issues of global national interest, as contrasted frequently with local and party politics. In much the same way, people in developing countries show a much stronger concern with the representation of national interest, with the promotion of the national objectives on the international scene. While a strong international awareness was found to be characteristic of all student groups studied so far, the Iranian students appear to be the exception. They have a nearly exclusive preoccupation with the domestic scene and especially with domestic political problems. Although the nature of this preoccupation is different from the Americans', in terms of their sharp focus on domestic issues, the Iranians are similar to the Americans but different from most of the other foreign groups studied.

One has the impression that the Iranian group, absorbed at the time by its domestic concerns and preoccupations, had a relatively limited awareness of and concern with the rest of the world.

There seems to be remarkably little concern with Iran's position in the world, with its role in international relations, or with its relationship to the leading world powers. With a pre-revolutionary attitude, it seems that as a reaction to the Shah's claim of having raised Iran to the status of a leading power in the Middle East and in the world, the general tendency is to do away with the Shah and any ideology related to his reign.

As the Iranians' image of the United States indicates, there is a certain awareness of the free nature of the American system (probably stimulated again by domestic sensitivities), but there is minimal awareness of other outstanding characteristics such as technology, science, and affluence. There is a similar innocence about some of the most salient characteristics of their powerful neighbor, the Soviet Union. Beyond a moderate understanding that freedom in that country is limited, the Iranian students showed little awareness of other systemic, national or cultural characteristics including foreign policy, military power, attitudes toward nationalities, neighbors, etc.* This relative naivete in matters of foreign policy and international relations could create certain future vulnerabilities, particularly in light of certain paradoxical characteristics of their domestic political views. As we have just noted, the intensive call for democracy and freedom is combined with their more traditional disposition to stress the attributes of leadership and power, nearly completely overlooking the democratic process. With some simplification one could conclude that their excitement over democracy and freedom is combined with an apparent lack of tradition and experience which could effectively help to transform these democratic aspirations into workable democratic solutions.

An understanding of the people of Iran and their cultural and historical background is essential in order to grasp the reality behind these words. For thousands of years of history, at peace or at war, the people of Iran have been led by a very small group of individuals, usually following one central authority. In the last several hundred years the ideas of justice and social welfare have

been directly related to Koranic laws and religious prescriptions. The leadership has been responsible for maintaining harmony and homogeneity between the different ethnic and religious groups, different provinces and their minority groups, different social classes, religious leaders, merchants, land owners, military forces and others in a very diversified country.

It is logical to assume that Iranians are still looking for that kind of leadership in the framework of a republic and a democracy.

Based on these dispositions, liabilities and assets, there are only a few patterns of development which can be ruled out as improbable. An American-style democracy is one of them. Although the students have expressed a genuine striving toward and fascination with freedom and democracy, other findings make it unequivocal that their approach to these subjects is in several important ways different from the American.

As in any intellectual vacuum generated by fast change, ideologies have an immense appeal. How the ideology of the new revolutionary leader may fit with the Iranian political frame of reference is a most interesting question, but it would take us beyond the scope of our present analysis.

* Lorand B. Szalay et al., U.S.-Arabic Communication Lexicon on Cultural Meanings, 1978; Rita Kelly and Vincent Kelly, "Democracy in Global Perspectives (A Six Country Comparison)," paper presented at the Political Psychology Convention, Munich, August 1978.

** Lorand B. Szalay et al., Communication Lexicon on Three South Korean Audiences, 1971, 1973; Subjective Culture and Communication: A Puerto Rican-U.S. Comparison, 1975; Filipinos in the Navy: Service Interpersonal Relations, and Cultural Adaptation, 1977; U.S.-Arabic Communication Lexicon on Cultural Meanings, 1978. See Appendix II, pp. 15-17 for complete references.

*** James A. Bill and Carl Leiden, The Middle East Politics and Power (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1974).

CHAPTER 10

FREEDOM, RIGHTS

In view of the recent political developments in Iran, it is particularly interesting to explore how Iranian students feel about such timely issues as freedom and democracy. Do they show signs of dissatisfaction? Were they critical about the political system at the time of the testing (December 1977)? Are there fundamental differences in how Americans and Iranians approach freedom and rights? Do the Iranians pay attention to the same negative elements of war and think in terms of the same positive aspects of peace as do the Americans? May we assume that revolution denotes a violent overthrow or could it be calm, gradual, and bloodless? Do the Iranians, with nearly 3,000 years of history, have a different idea about co-existence? Do Americans and Iranians have different priorities on the question of government, politics, and war? Can it be that even the most basic requirements for survival are perceived differently?

Answers to these questions bear on the feelings of students in the wake of political turmoil and change. They may also give some insights into how people in a traditional society change in their perceptions, attitudes, and social values; changes which frequently lay the groundwork for future social and political development.

Finally, since the Iranian events have frequently been interpreted as reactions to too rapid modernization, it is interesting to explore whether the students' frame of reference shows a predominance of modern individualistic values or a rallying on more traditional social attitudes and value preferences. In the specific case of Iran, for instance, do students change by adapting to modern values and an individualistic frame of reference?

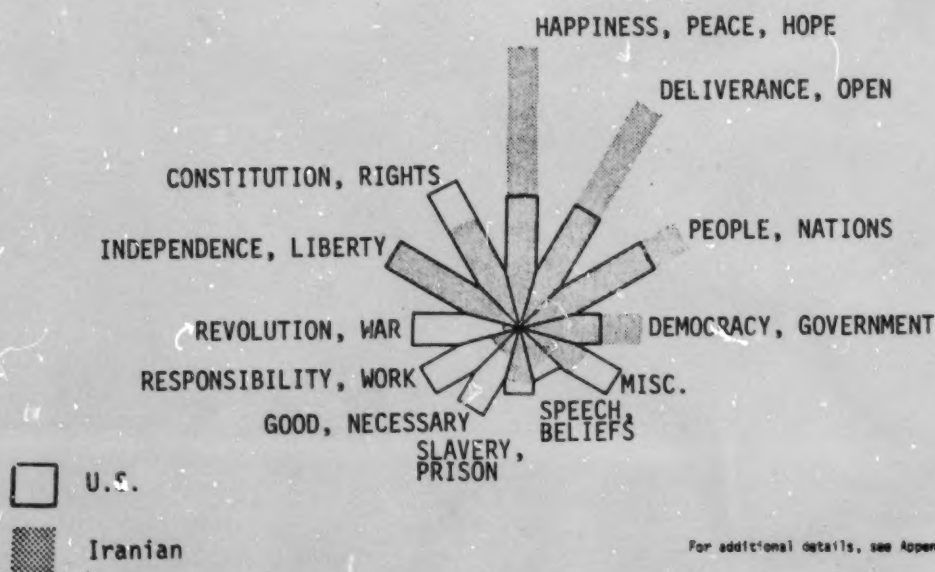
FREEDOM

ĀZĀDI آزادی

The meaning of azadi is very similar to freedom, but in Farsi it is used more to indicate an openness and hope for happiness and peace as a kind of social deliverance. In the American perception, freedom is viewed more as a constitutional right, a necessity, a goal, implying more individual fulfillment.

The Iranian students emphasize independence, which usually reflects a concern with the status of one's country or nation. The Americans, on the other hand, focus primarily on the individual and his need to be independent. They emphasize the rights of the individual, i.e., freedom of choice, speech, beliefs, etc. Consistent with this distinction, Americans associate freedom with particular people---Blacks, George Washington, themselves. The Iranians more generally refer to society or the country. In other words, the Iranians view freedom or the lack of it as a problem characteristic of entire societies or nations. Their stronger social than individual focus is further conveyed by their attention to equality as a timely issue. The American reference to slavery is more historical.

Iranians see a particularly close relationship between freedom and happiness, brotherhood, and peace. Freedom is somewhat more of a



For additional details, see Appendix I, p. 69.

political issue to Iranians involving government and particularly democracy. The American references to wars, revolution, and fighting for freedom probably reflect historical recollections rather than timely concerns.

High Frequency Iranian Themes

deliverance	rahā'i	رهائی
equality	barābari - mosavat	برابری مساوات
independence	ēsteglāl	استقلال
prosperity	xośbaxti	خوشبختی
democracy	demokrāsi	دموکراسی
people	mellat	ملت

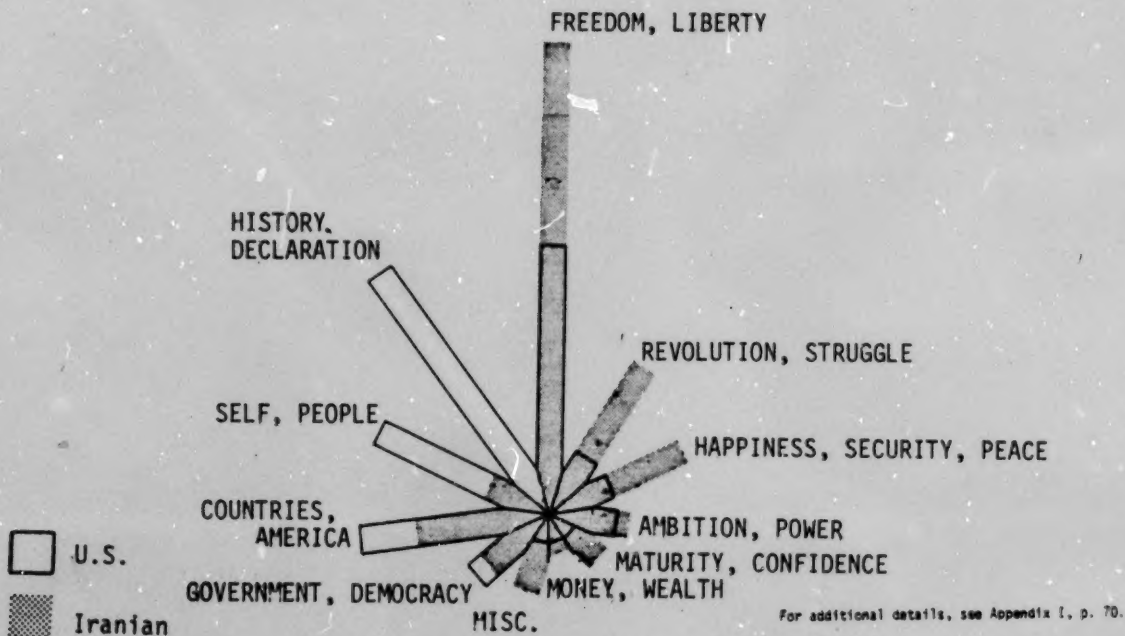
INDEPENDENCE

· ÈSTEQLĀL استقلال

Independence denotes freedom to both groups and so it is not surprising that some dispositions observed in the context of freedom receive additional confirmation and clarification here. To Americans independence has an even stronger historical connotation than freedom. The memories have probably been strengthened by the bicentennial celebrations of 1976.

Of more individual psychological relevance is the strong American concern with personal independence and the relationship of the individual to other people, particularly family members. The assertion of personal independence with regard to one's family clearly supports Francis Hsu's penetrating ideas about self development in the American socialization process. *

While in the American perspective independence is an historical issue or a matter of freeing oneself from dependence on others, in the Iranian view, independence is a timely political issue. To the Iranians independence involves struggle and fighting against colonization, while to Americans the predominant theme here is naturally the American Revolution. Similarly while Americans think primarily of the independence of the U.S.A. and related historical events, Iranians associate independence with timely national and international issues,



the fate of the "homeland", the United Nations, Vietnam. To Iranians independence brings peace and glory, while both Americans and Iranians consider such subjective personal advantages of independence as happiness, joy, and pleasure.

High Frequency Iranian Themes

freedom	āzādi	آزادی
struggle	mobāreze	مبارزه
colonization	estemrār	استعمار
country	kešvar	کشور
peace	ārāmes - solh	آرامش - صلح
escape	rahā'i	رهائی

* Francis L. K. Hsu, Americans and Chinese: Purpose and Fulfillment in Great Civilizations (New York: Doubleday, 1970).

RIGHTS

HAQQO HOQUQ

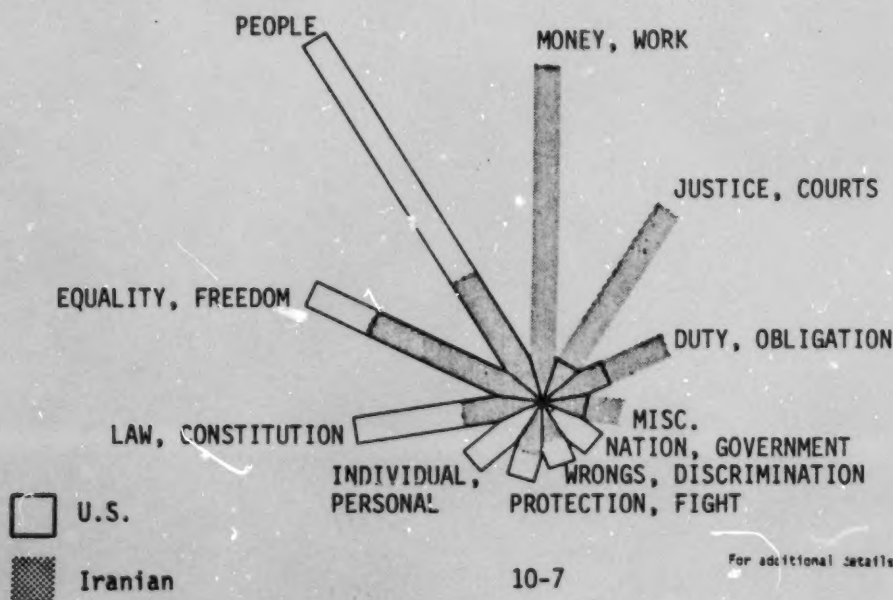
حق و حقوق

Important distinctions occur here, especially in the Iranian view that rights entail obligations and in the American emphasis on rights of individual persons.

The Americans stress human rights, more particularly, civil, individual, and women's rights. In contrast, the Iranians consider rights to be a social, societal matter. It would seem that in the American view there is an implied assumption that rights are a given, while in the Iranian view they are socially-defined and enforced. Such an interpretation is supported by the greater Iranian emphasis on justice, lawyers and courts.

The Farsi word hago hogug can mean either rights or salaries as determined by the context of use. This explains why the Iranians make so many references to work and work relations, wages, employer-employee relationships. There is some agreement between Americans and Iranians on the need to protect rights. Americans speak of fighting for and protecting rights and even of amending them; Iranians speak of struggling to obtain rights and also of managing them.

In general, from the Iranian angle, there is a distinct tendency to view rights primarily as a legal issue involving justice, lawyers,



10-7

For additional details, see Appendix I, p. 71.

and courts. To the Americans rights means primarily civil rights, a practical pursuit of such high ideals as equality, freedom and liberty.

As additional details they list as rights free choice, religion, free speech. Finally, Americans show concern with the rights of Blacks and other minorities, while Iranians mention the rights of students.

High Frequency Iranian Themes

justice	ʿedālat	عدالت
wages	dastmozd	دستمزد
money	pul	پول
reward	pādās	پاداش
equality	barādari	برادری
law	qānun	قانون

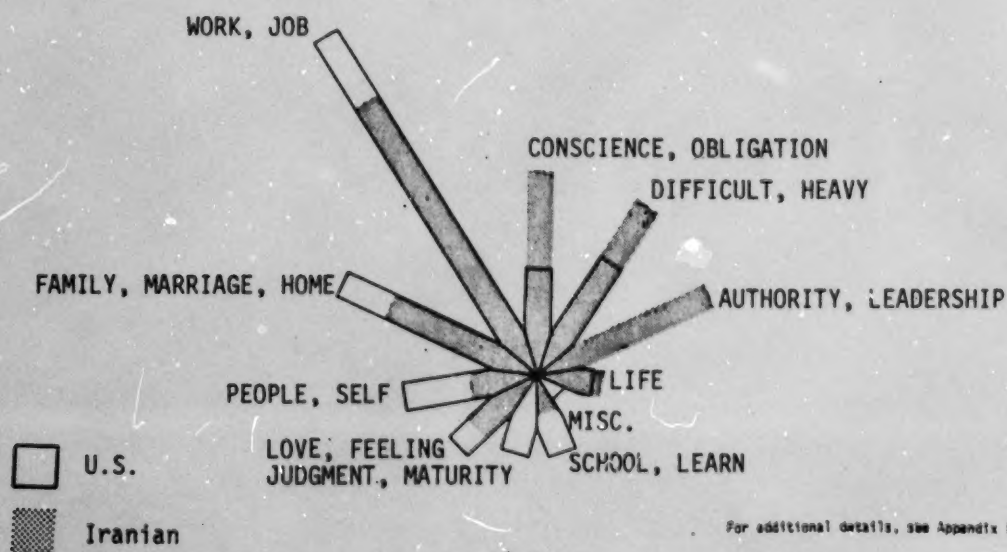
RESPONSIBILITY

MASULIYAT مسئولیت

The differences emerging in the Iranian and American views of responsibility reflect distinctions based on individualistic or group orientation, as frequently observed in this volume. In the American view every individual---me and you---has responsibility, while the Iranians stress the social responsibility of people in positions of leadership and authority.

Americans and Iranians agree that responsibility is a particularly important issue in relation to one's work or job. In contrast to the American focus on jobs, the Iranians think in somewhat broader terms of tasks and undertakings. The Americans are also more explicit about the question of monetary responsibility. Both groups speak of burdens and hardships; Americans describe it as pressure or weight, while the Iranians show concern with the difficulties, troubles, and tiredness brought on by heavy responsibilities. Furthermore, to Iranians, conscience and moral obligation are also important elements of responsibility.

While Americans view responsibility mainly as an individual attribute which requires proper reasoning, judgment, maturity, for Iranians it is more related to leadership, power, and authority with particular regard to its social implications for those in subordinate



For additional details, see Appendix I, p. 72.

positions (employees, children). This rationale is reflected by the responses involving family. While the Americans think of parents as well as of the children, the Iranians associate family responsibility exclusively with the father as representing power and authority.

High Frequency Iranian Themes

task	vazife	وظیفه
feeling	ēhsās	احساس
conscience	vojdān	وجدان
undertaking	taāhod	تعهد
paternal	pedar	پدر
family	xānevāde	خانواده

JUSTICE

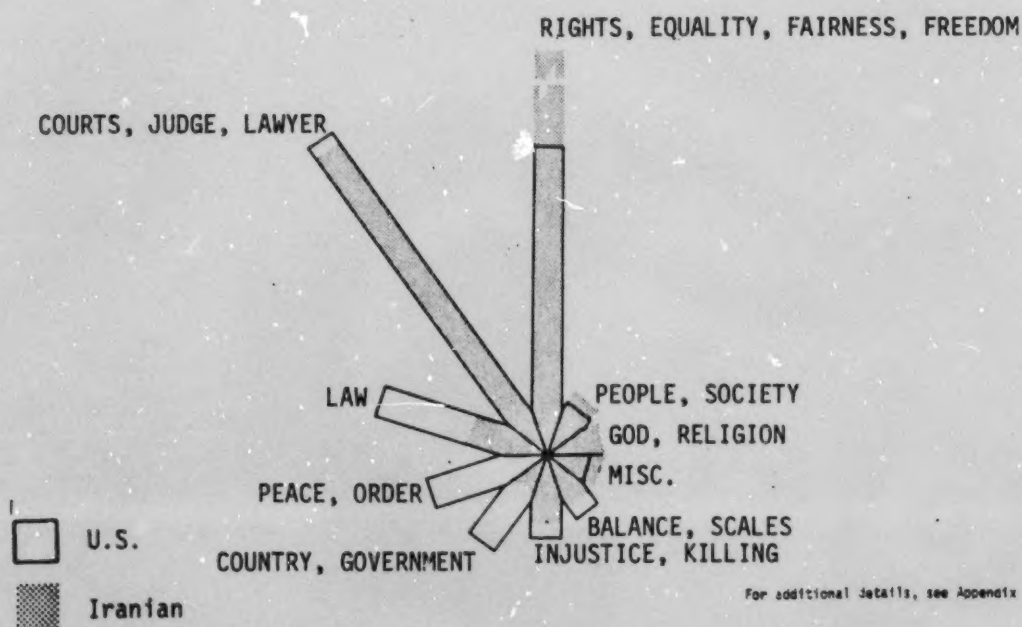
EDĀLAT عدالت

A few interesting points distinguish Americans and Iranians on this theme, but most of their perceptions are shared. Equality and rights are major concerns for both, but particularly for the Iranians. Here the Iranian group thinks primarily of equal and just treatment. Compared to the Iranians, the Americans emphasize the principles of fairness and correctness and the ideals of freedom and liberty.

Both groups show a closely similar awareness of or concern with the legal process. In addition to the American emphasis on law in general, both groups turn their attention to the specifics of its implementation: courts, lawyers, trial, etc.

Americans link justice to United States and democracy. They think of justice apparently more in systemic organizational terms. Both groups recognize negative alternatives such as oppression and injustice.

Iranians differ from Americans by associating justice more closely with God and religion. "The highest justice is God," is a strong traditional Iranian belief. The word edalat (justice) is mentioned frequently when enumerating God's heavenly qualities, as well as rights, fairness and equality.* Furthermore, while Americans view



For additional details, see Appendix I, p. 73.

justice more as a matter of affecting specific individuals---people, Blacks, men, women---from the Iranian perspective justice is a broader social issue, involving society at large.

High Frequency Iranian Themes

court	dādgāh - dādgostari	دادگستری - دادگاه
equality	barabari	برابری
judge	qāzi	قاضی
truth	haq	حق
judgment	qezāvat	قضاوت
law	qānun	قانون

* Hamid Algar, Religion and State in Iran 1785-1906 (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1969; P. M. Holt et al., eds., The Cambridge History of Islam, Volume 2 (London: Cambridge University Press, 1970; Bernard Lewis, Islam in History: Ideas, Men, and Events in the Middle East (New York: The Library Press, 1973).

LAW

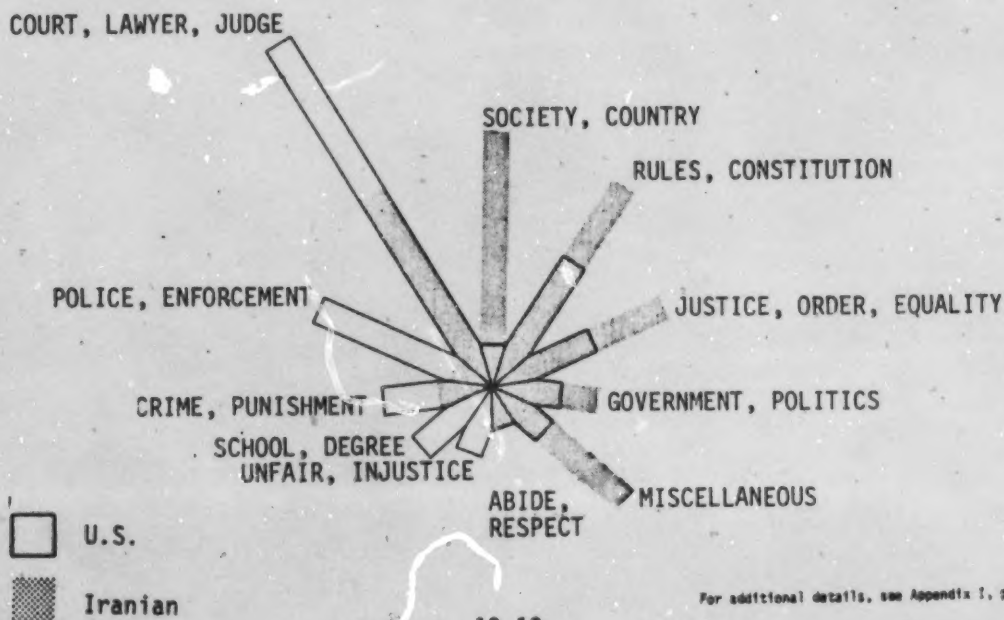
QĀNUN

قانون

The differences we find between the American and Iranian views of the law reflect again some of the major trends we have found in comparing Americans with Hispanic Americans, Koreans, and Arabs.* As is frequently observed, representatives of the various, more traditional cultures show considerable similarities when contrasted to modernized American cultural views.

Americans place a great deal of emphasis on the practical implementation of the law. The procedure and roles involved (courts, lawyers, judges) receive intensive attention. Similarly, the police and law enforcement aspect and also crime attract substantively more American than Iranian interest. Law school and law degrees are also more emphasized in the American's more practical and individualistic way of thinking.

At the same time, Iranians, like Arabs and Hispanics, consider law to be more a matter of higher principles and ideals. Law is closely related to the constitution, a system of rules and regulations which come from the government and are reinforced by the authorities. Iranians stress the principles of truth and justice, while Americans consider fairness. To Americans obeying the law is more a matter of



For additional details, see Appendix 1, p. 74.

personal choice or obligation; to Iranians it is emphatically a social and national issue.

Although the origins of the Iranian law is basically Islamic, the regulations and law enforcement have been directly handled by a system of government-appointed officials. This practice emphasizes the country and the constitution but in reality it legitimizes practices questionable from the angle of democratic ideals and human rights.**

High Frequency Iranian Themes

court	dādgāh - dadgostari	دادگاه - دادگستری
rules	moqararāt	مقررات
justice	ʿedalāt	عدالت
government	hokumat - dolat	حکومت - دولت
country	kešvar - mamlekat	کشور - مملکت
society	jāmeʿ - ejtemaʿ	جامعه - اجتماع

* Lorand B. Szalay et al., The Hispanic American Cultural Frame of Reference, 1978; Communication Lexicon on Three South Korean Audiences, 1971, 1973; U.S.-Arabic Communication Lexicon of Cultural Meanings, 1978. For complete references, see Appendix II, pp. 15-17.

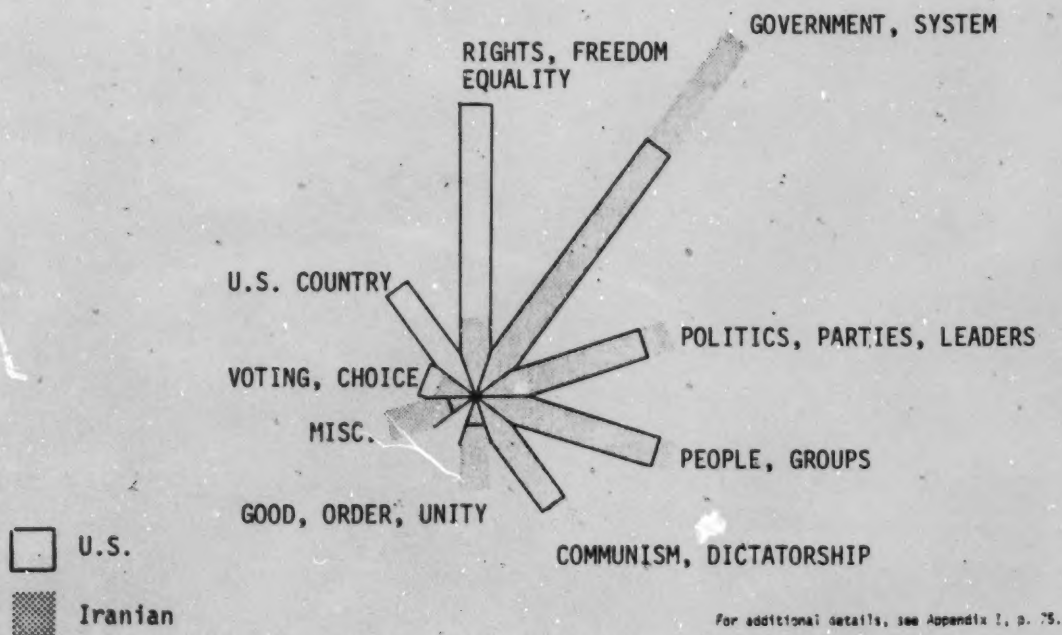
** F. Kazemzadeh, "Ideological Crisis in Iran," in The Middle East in Transition (Freeport, New York: Books for Libraries Press, 1971), p. 196.

DEMOCRACY

DEMOKRASI دموکراسی

For Americans democracy is a political system of government exemplified by the United States. Iranians recognize democracy as a form of government but do not think strongly of any specific country. Both groups, but particularly Iranians, associate democracy with high human and social ideals: freedom, equality, justice, fairness, and freedom of speech. These reactions suggest that democracy is highly valued. Furthermore, democracy brings with it a sense of order, well-being, welfare, and peace to the Iranians. They also contrast democracy with dictatorship.

Iranians, however, are much less aware of the concrete, procedural aspects of democracy. Americans stress the importance of the democratic process: participation, representation, elections, voting, choice. They emphasize the role of political parties (Democrats, Republicans), political institutions (Senate, President), famous leaders (Carter, Jefferson), and the government itself. In general, while democracy is viewed more as a concrete functioning political system by the Americans, for the Iranians it is more an attractive idea or ideal.



For additional details, see Appendix I, p. 75.

Compared to Americans, Iranians more closely relate democracy and freedom: freedom of action, of speech and of thought. This is the reason that many Iranians contrast democracy with dictatorship. Historically the significance of democracy for Iranians has been "freedom" from dictatorship, which further explains why democracy is considered to be ideal.

High Frequency Iranian Themes

freedom	āzādi	آزادی
government	hokumat	حکومت
people	mardom	مردم
equality	barābari	برابری
dictatorship	diktātori	دیکتاتوری
president of republic	rais jomhur	رئیس جمهور

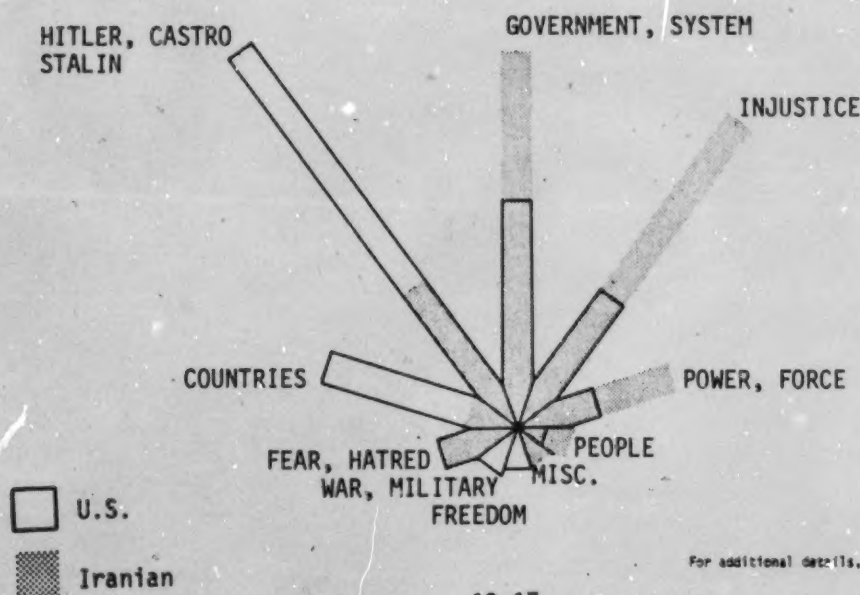
DICTATORSHIP

DİKTÄTORİ دیکتاتوری

Americans and Iranians both have negative views of dictatorship. Americans concentrate their attention on historic foreign examples, citing the countries---Russia, Spain, Germany---as well as their political leaders---Stalin, Franco, Hitler. The forms of government associated with dictatorship are fascism and communism; presumably democracy is mentioned as a contrastive form.

The Iranians concentrate more on what it is like living under a dictatorship than on the countries or leaders involved. Of the two countries they do think of, one is Iran. Although it was mentioned by only a few, this may be due to a fear or hesitation to criticize their own government. How strong this reservation was may only be guessed, but one indication may be the intensity of attention to oppression, tyranny, despotism. It is on these oppressive aspects of dictatorship that the Iranians surpass the Americans. They also display greater concern over power and force and make heavy references to government and despotism.*

The contrast is particularly interesting in comparison with the Americans, who view communism and Nazism as the most timely systemic representatives of dictatorships. The Iranians have apparently no such



For additional details, see Appendix 1, p. 78.

external examples in mind; despite their proximity, they make no reference to communism and the Soviet Union. Minimal references to external examples seems to indicate that the Iranians had their own domestic situation in mind.

While it is true that dictatorship is seen basically in the context of dictator of a country and a form of ruling or governing by both culture groups, the Iranians may relate it much more to an individual's attitude and behavior. Often a director, a partner, or a teacher is called a dictator because of his stern, abrupt approach, reflecting a less socially accepted attitude and behavior toward others.

While Americans speak of fear and cruelty, the Iranians make oblique references to hesitation, cowardliness, and selfishness. The fact that the Iranians gave so few responses to this concept also suggests that they may have been reluctant and hesitant to respond as quickly and spontaneously as the Americans did.

High Frequency Iranian Themes

despotism	ēstebdād	استبداد
oppression	zurguī	زورگویی
force	zur	زور
Hitler	hitler	هیتلر
government	hokumat	حکومت
power	qodrat	قدرت

* James A. Bill and Carl Leiden, The Middle East Politics and Power (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1974).

SUMMARY

In this chapter we explored such human values as freedom, rights, and democracy. These values reflect an "individual" versus "social" orientation as characteristic of the two culture groups compared. Americans view these values as more personal and emphasize the needs and rights of the individual. For the Iranians they are more social in a collective social, national sense. The differences reflect the dominant pattern of the relations Iranians and Americans maintain within their respective cultural environments.

The notions of freedom and independence reflect different perceptions at a deep personal, subjective level. To the Americans freedom and independence mean unrestrained, unlimited opportunities for everyone, free choice and action, freedom for the individual, with little or no individual interference from others, particularly from the pressures and control of collectives, groups, social organizations, and institutions. Americans place special emphasis on human rights, their constitutional foundation and historical, traditional roots.

Iranians, like the Arabs, are also historically known for their fascination with freedom, but their notion of freedom is quite different from that of Americans. For the Iranians freedom is not irreconcilable with a strong personal dependence on family and kin. At a personal level freedom is associated as an ideal with happiness, joy, brotherhood, and peace. At another level, the Iranians show an intensive concern with the fate of the country, society, and the nation, whose freedom is considered a fundamental prerequisite for individual freedom and happiness.

Although they are apparently not insensitive to the limitations of individual freedom, the Iranians place less emphasis on free choice, on voting, and other issues of civil rights. At the same time they view freedom and independence as political issues involving the role of government and the principles of democracy. They see a closer relationship between freedom and democracy and independence and democracy than Americans do. This may be because in the Iranian cultural frame of reference politics and national interests have higher priority;

freedom is less personal and has a stronger political, national connotation.

In the American perspective, freedom and independence have primarily historic connotations, but they do think of the status of minorities in a contemporary political context. To the Iranians, freedom and independence are current political issues resulting in confrontation and struggle for peace. On the positive side, freedom brings happiness, love, and brotherhood while on the negative side, the lack of freedom is related to colonization, power politics, and struggle. Again, Iranian emphasis is more on people, society, and the country at large, rather than on individuals. They contrast between independence as a social and national issue and freedom as a right of the individual.

Rights and responsibility are viewed by the Iranians as social obligations and expectations. From the American viewpoint, rights as well as actions motivated by responsibility follow from the natural order of things and can be taken more or less for granted.

The topics of rights, justice, and responsibility introduce some additional dimensions differentiating Americans from Iranians. The Iranians view these issues in the context of legal considerations, while the Americans see them more as a matter of individual morality. The Iranians place these topics in the broad context of society, stressing such ideas as social justice and social responsibility, whereas the Americans emphasize fairness and individual judgment.

This social perspective of the Iranians is apparent in their view of responsibility which they interpret primarily as social responsibility and view as a heavy burden of social roles and positions. The Iranians also associate responsibility with leadership and management, authority, and elevated social position. Responsibility carries special weight in all contexts of the implementation of social or political power.

In interesting contrast, the American focus is the responsibility of the individual vis-a-vis all other individuals; in their perspective, a natural consequence of human behavior.

While the notion of democracy carries stronger political overtones, it fits within the previously discussed general patterns. The differences observed here between Americans and Iranians are quite consistent with differences between Americans and various traditional societies observed by other researchers.* By viewing our results in the framework of broader multinational comparisons, we find that the Iranians, like people in other developing countries, are very positive about democracy as a high ideal. They emphasize rights, freedom, and equality and associate it strongly with positive values such as progress, cooperation and unity. In comparison with seven culture groups---Americans, Egyptians, Jordanians, Koreans, Mainland Chinese, Slovenians, and Hong Kong Chinese---studied by Kelly and Kelly (1978), the Iranians place great emphasis on rights and ideals as important elements of democracy while displaying a common tendency of traditional societies to pay less attention to the procedural aspects of democracy (campaigning, election, voting).

Both in the case of democracy and dictatorship the Iranians are preoccupied with problems of injustice, oppression, fear, power and authority while stressing the role of the government. In their views of political systems such as democracy, socialism, and dictatorship, the Iranians are inclined to think in abstract value terms, including both positive and negative extremes, whereas Americans think more in terms of particular governments and particular dictators.

In general, the Iranians tend to contrast dictatorship with democracy and to apply this contrast to their own country. They associate dictatorship with despotism and tyranny, with corruption and colonization. The country they associate most with dictatorship is their own, although few people took the risk of being specific. Their relatively low level of response to this theme is far below the average of others in this context. Democracy, on the other hand, emerges as a highly dominant, highly attractive subject, though a large percentage of its meaning comes from its contrast with dictatorship. In other words, democracy appears particularly attractive to Iranians because it is viewed as an alternative to a dictatorship which is emphatically rejected by the Iranian students. The Iranians see democracy as a desirable system

closely associated with such roles and institutions as the president of the republic and the House of Representatives even though some of these institutions either do not exist in Iran, or did exist but have been recently curtailed. It is particularly revealing that in the context of democracy, the Iranians made specific references to the U.S. and to Europe but not a single student referred to Iran.

These findings suggest that the modern notions of civil rights and democracy represent important elements of the Iranians' political frame of reference. They are popular, active ingredients of a belief system, or Weltanschauung, which apparently is broadly shared by a domestic opposition. It must be recognized, however, that as modern and as Western as these concepts seem, they have culture-specific meanings for the Iranians. While the values studied in this chapter reflect a considerable degree of individualism among Iranians, they are much influenced by the higher order social values and political abstractions characteristic of traditional societies.

This situation results in a rather complex pattern of interaction between two parallel but conflicting trends. The first involves the penetration of modern pluralistic ideals into the political thinking of the Iranians, and the integration of these into the vocabulary and thought processes helps to shape and promote pluralistic trends.

Parallel to this process, which generally accompanies political modernization, there is a second less visible process which leads to the adaptation of these new notions. This adaptation frequently entails a drastic change in the meaning of the foreign notions. As our analysis shows, in the traditional milieu some of these transplanted notions become heavily saturated with traditional beliefs and values. The degree and nature of these changes will influence whether and how effectively the newly adopted notions will serve to promote pluralistic democratic development. While the present analysis can identify modern and traditional or pluralistic and collectivistic elements, only repeated assessments over time can produce a useful trend analysis.

* Rita Kelly and Vincent Kelly, "Democracy in Global Perspectives (A Six Country Comparison)," paper presented at the Political Psychology Convention, Washington, D. C., Spring, 1979.

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APPENDIX I

THE U.S. AND IRANIAN GROUP RESPONSE LISTS

Included here are the American and Iranian original response lists with all the actual reactions produced by the groups. These reactions are the empirical foundation for the results presented in this volume.

As indicated in the introduction, while we have used non-technical language in the main body of this work, several of our terms have technical definitions which have assured consistent treatment of the data over many years of intercultural investigation. In the text, the "salience" of a particular idea or subject is frequently mentioned. This term refers to the magnitude of a particular response score. "Relative salience" reflects a comparison of score values obtained for both the American and Arabic groups. A "meaning component" is the cluster of semantically related responses characterized by a score value which is the sum of the individual response scores included in the cluster. We speak in the text of the "cultural dominance" of a particular theme. This is defined as the total score accumulated by all the responses from a group which are elicited by a particular theme.

The following tables show all the responses elicited by each theme. The responses in each list are arranged in semantically related clusters identified through content analysis. The score for each response is based on the frequency with which that response is made. The scores are summed within each cluster to reflect the salience of each meaning component in the group's cultural images. Each of the response lists is presented with a percentage table which summarizes the relative contributions of each of the semantic clusters. At the bottom of each percentage table, the "total score" of all responses is presented. This score is analogous to Clyde Noble's (1952) measure of "meaningfulness," and shows the subjective importance of a particular subject to the culture groups studied based on solid empirical foundation. A word of caution must be interjected here: although total scores may readily be compared from one stimulus subject to another to understand the relative strengths of subjects within a culture group, comparisons across culture groups should not be made unless cultural differences in response rates

are taken into account. To make the scores of the two culture groups comparable, the Iranian scores were increased by 16%.

The International Phonetic System has been used to form a phonological table of the Persian sounds, with the exception of some modifications which were applied to accomodate the typing requirements.

Considering that: phonemes of different languages are not of the same quality, and in order to facilitate the reader's task, this is a simplified phonological table adapted to most common English sounds whenever possible.

TABLE OF PHONOLOGICAL TRANSCRIPTION

p	as in English initial sound in the word port
b	as in English initial sound in the word board
t	as in English initial sound in the word toy
d	as in English initial sound in the word day
k	as in English initial sound in the word care
g	as in English initial sound in the word guard
x	uvular, fricative, unvoiced
q	uvular, stop, voiced
f	as in English initial sound in the word fork
v	as in English initial sound in the word void
s	as in English initial sound in the word sue
z	as in English initial sound in the word zoo
ʃ	as in English initial sound in the word shoe
ʒ	as in French initial sound in the word jour
č	as in English initial sound in the word church
j	as in English initial sound in the word jay
m	as in English initial sound in the word mail
n	as in English initial sound in the word nail
l	as in English initial sound in the word law
r	as in English initial sound in the word raw
y	as in English initial sound in the word year
w	as in English initial sound in the word wear
i	as in English initial sound in the word in
e	as in English initial sound in the word enter
o	as in English initial sound in the word open
u	as in English vowel sound in the word foot
a	as in English vowel sound in the word after
ā	as in English vowel sound in the word alter
ʔ	voiced glottal stop

	page		page
COUNTRY IMAGES		FRIENDSHIP	
country	5	friends	45
nation	6	enemy	46
Iran	7	trust	47
United States	8	fidelity	48
Soviet Union	9	brotherhood	49
England	10	help	50
France	11	respect	51
republic	12	honesty	52
SELF IMAGES		SOCIETY	
me	13	people	53
self	14	society	54
conscience	15	social order	55
personality	16	position	56
selfishness	17	equality	57
behavior	18	race	58
goals	19	authority	59
future	20	socialism	60
FAMILY		GOVERNMENT, POLITICS	
family	21	politics	61
father	22	government	62
mother	23	leadership	63
brother	24	royalty	64
sister	25	influence	65
home	26	revolution	66
relatives	27	war	67
ancestors	28	peace	68
MARRIAGE		FREEDOM	
marriage	29	freedom	69
husband	30	independence	70
wife	31	rights	71
child	32	responsibility	72
understanding	33	justice	73
companionship	34	law	74
togetherness	35	democracy	75
divorce	36	dictatorship	76
LOVE, SEX			
love	37		
pleasure	38		
lust	39		
sacrifice	40		
man	41		
woman	42		
boy	43		
girl	44		

Main Components
and Responses

US	I
RURAL REFERENCES	343
fresh	9
air	16
cooking	10
cottage	7
cowboy	7
cows	8
crops	9
farms	59
fields	18
grass	9
green/vegetation	9
wilderness	6
woods	6
hicks	6
horses	6
lane	6
morning	6
mountains	8
music	25
open	7
road	10
rural	9
s'de	15
style	7
trees	36
Western	11
life, living	18

U.S., IRAN	206	162
U.S., America	135	22
Iran	-	92
Egypt	-	9
Israel	6	-
Canada	18	-
Mexico	6	-
Germany	9	9
Spain	7	-
England	14	-
France	-	9
country	-	16

COUNTRY

PERCEPTIONS AND EVALUATIONS BY
U. S. AND IRANIAN STUDENT GROUPS

Main Components	Percentage of Total Score	
	US	I
Rural References	38	-
U.S., Iran	23	17
City, Home	9	2
Love, Patriotism	6	2
Government, Administration	4	31
People, Society, Nation	9	28
Land, Space	8	11
Economy	-	3
Freedom, Progress	2	3
Miscellaneous	2	2
Total Scores	900	862

	US	I
CITY, HOME	83	21
city	27	14
home	24	-
houses, ing,	-	-
residence	19	7
club	13	-
LOVE, PATRIOTISM	53	16
love	15	-
tis of thee	12	-
patriot	6	-
flag	9	-
pretty	11	-
great	-	16

	US	I
FREEDOM, PROGRESS	15	24
freedom	-	8
independence	-	7
fair	9	-
hope	6	-
progress	-	9
MISCELLANEOUS	14	21
line	6	-
atmosphere	-	7
war	8	-
revolution	-	6
religion	-	8

Main Components
and Responses

GOVERNMENT, ADMINISTRATION	34	265
gov't	12	47
regime	-	7
state	-	46
nation-state	6	-
political,s	8	15
democracy	8	6
despotism	-	7
king	-	18
governship	-	7
govern	-	49
Nat'l Assembly	-	7
law	-	20
jurisdiction	-	12
constitutional	-	9
prime minister	-	8
officials	-	7

PEOPLE, SOCIETY, NATION	82	240
people	22	71
population	-	12
cousin	9	-
mother	6	-
society	-	74
nation, alsim, ty	39	50
homeland	6	23
language	-	10

LAND, SPACE	70	90
land	50	28
earth	6	18
world	8	-
boundaries	6	16
limits	-	14
space	6	-
widespread	-	7
place	-	7

ECONOMY	-	23
economic	-	5
wealth	-	9
poor	-	9

Main Components
and Responses

US I

COUNTRIES:		
U.S., Iran	473	170
national	-	8
state	34	56
Spain	11	-
land	16	-
world	16	-
country	112	88
Poland	7	-
Israel	11	-
Iran	-	18
America, U.S.A.	127	-
Mexico	6	-
England	34	-
Canada	21	-
boundaries, border	6	-
China	6	-
France	20	-
Germany	18	-
Italy	6	-
Russia, U.S.S.R.	22	-

UNITED, TOGETHERNESS	136	31
united	83	-
unity	19	14
one	15	-
togetherness	19	-
mutual	-	9
understanding	-	9
friendship	-	8

GOVERNMENT, POLITICS	99	45
government	49	22
sovereignty	9	-
leader	7	-
Shah	-	7
politics	14	-
rule	6	-
U.N.	14	-
election	-	7
police	-	9

NATION

PERCEPTIONS AND EVALUATIONS BY
U. S. AND IRANIAN STUDENT GROUPS

Main Components	Percentage of Total Score	
	US	I
Countries: U.S., Iran	47	21
United, Togetherness	13	4
Government, Politics	10	5
Power, Strength	6	2
Flag, Capitol	4	1
People, Group	6	39
Society, Culture	4	19
Homeland, Patriotism	4	4
War, Rebellion	2	3
Freedom, Success	2	1
Miscellaneous	3	2
Total Scores	1032	822

	US	I
POWER, STRENGTH	62	14
power, force	27	-
big	12	-
strong	23	-
small scale	-	8
large scale	-	6
FLAG, CAPITOL	41	5
anthem	6	-
flag	14	-
capitol	13	-
Washington	8	-
city	-	5

Main Components
and Responses

US I

PEOPLE, GROUP	65	320
people	65	206
population	-	14
mass	-	17
family	-	16
race	-	18
tribe	-	7
group	-	35
members of home	-	7

SOCIETY, CULTURE	47	160
culture	15	7
customs	5	-
history	7	15
tradition	4	-
law	-	15
religion	-	21
language	5	13
views	6	-
society	5	80
civilization	-	9

HOMELAND, PATRIOTISM	39	30
home	-	13
homeland	-	10
motherland	-	7
ours	17	-
patriot	9	-
nationalism	13	-

WAR, REBELLION	22	26
war	13	-
Army	9	-
misery	-	7
rebellion	-	6
hypocrites	-	13

FREEDOM, SUCCESS	21	7
independent, ce	8	-
goal	6	-
success	-	7
economy	7	-

MISCELLANEOUS	29	14
avenue	-	7
many	13	-
separate	6	-
division	10	-
too sleepy	-	7

Main Components
and Responses

	US	I
MIDDLE EAST, ARAB	258	-
Middle East	80	-
Arab	66	-
east	14	-
Egypt	16	-
Israel	9	-
Iraq	41	-
Saudi	8	-
overseas	9	-
Africa	6	-
Asia	9	-

OIL, MONEY	184	29
oil	114	23
gasoline	8	-
money	18	-
wealth	8	-
rich	16	-
expensive	-	3
poor, poverty	13	3
embargo	7	-

HISTORY, CULTURE, LANGUAGE	118	54
history	-	21
powerful, past	-	7
pioneer of	-	7
knowledge	-	9
civilization	9	-
culture	-	10
religion	14	-
language	6	-
turbins	8	-
hat	10	-
rugs	10	-
jewelry	17	-
foreign	18	-
far	18	-
dark	8	-
unknown	-	-

DESERT, CAMELS	99	-
desert	42	-
hot	8	-
sand	20	-
camels	23	-
mountains	6	-

IRAN

PERCEPTIONS AND EVALUATIONS BY
U. S. AND IRANIAN STUDENT GROUPS

Main Components	Percentage of Total Score	
	US	I
Middle East, Arab	28	-
Oil, Money	20	4
History, Culture, Language	13	7
Desert, Camels	11	-
War, Demonstrations	8	3
Country, Tehran	11	42
Monarchy, King	8	17
Homeland, Love	-	16
People, Family, Me	-	10
Miscellaneous	2	1
Total Scores	930	796

	US	I
WAR, DEMONSTRATIONS	76	28
war	30	7
battle	6	-
conflict	8	-
bombs	3	-
blood	-	7
to swarm	-	6
riots	6	-
demonstrate	10	-
strike	-	8
dislike	7	-
weird	6	-

Main Components
and Responses

COUNTRY, TEHRAN	99	337
country	81	247
nation	5	-
state	-	9
Persian	13	7
Iranian	-	24
Tehran	-	30
Persian Gulf	-	6
Persepolis	-	14

MONARCHY, KING	73	135
monarchy	-	37
monarch	-	13
king	-	43
crown prince	-	10
Shah	33	-
sheik	21	-
savak	13	-
govern	-	10
constitutional	-	15
policy	6	-
plan	-	7

HOMELAND, LOVE	-	127
birthplace	-	8
motherland	-	12
my nation	-	7
home	-	10
love	-	12
love & misery	-	7
affection	-	7
splendour	-	7
greatness	-	16
national anthem	-	7
flag	-	12
developing country	-	9
advanced	-	7
progress	-	6

PEOPLE, FAMILY, ME	-	79
people, Iranian	-	43
family	-	5
father	-	7
mother	-	7
friend	-	5
me, ego	-	12

MISCELLANEOUS	23	7
drugs	6	-
communist	5	-
news	6	-
television	6	-
traffic	-	7

UNITED STATES

PERCEPTIONS AND EVALUATIONS BY U. S. AND IRANIAN STUDENT GROUPS

Main Components and Responses

	US	I
COUNTRY, CIVILIZATION	150	48
country	96	12
land	17	-
nation	17	-
great frontier	-	7
continent	7	-
world	6	-
civilization	-	13
another world	-	7
English	7	-
society	-	2
system	-	7
LOVE, PATRIOTISM	139	-
love	24	-
good	18	-
smile	6	-
proud, pride	16	-
patriot	7	-
flag	36	-
home	32	-
GOVERNMENT, POLITICS	111	92
government	44	-
federal	-	13
politics	6	-
president	23	-
Carter	-	16
Congress	-	5
vote	6	-
democracy, tic	26	12
capitalism, tic	6	7
republic	-	32
U.N.	-	7
PEOPLE	30	25
people	12	-
american	6	-
black	-	6
Indians	-	7
life, live	12	5
variety for people	-	7

Main Components	Percentage of Total Score	
	US	I
Country, Civilization	19	7
Love, Patriotism	18	-
Government, Politics	14	13
People	4	3
America, States	20	30
Freedom, Justice, Union	10	14
Power, Big	5	9
Russia, Israel	2	6
Imperialism, War	4	6
Progress, Development	-	5
Money, Wealth	3	4
Miscellaneous	2	2
Total Scores	788	719

	US	I
MONEY, WEALTH	37	32
money	17	-
rich	20	-
wealth	-	10
capital	-	7
welfare	-	15
MISCELLANEOUS	12	14
extend	-	7
university	-	7
here	6	-
consume	6	-

Main Components and Responses

	US	I
AMERICA, STATES	160	215
America, of-	133	-
U.S.	6	189
states	7	26
50	14	-
FREEDOM, JUSTICE, UNION	77	104
freedom	50	38
liberty	9	-
union	-	30
equality	7	-
justice	11	-
resolution of prob.	-	13
cooperation	-	23
POWER, BIG	38	64
power	-	41
great powers	-	7
large	7	-
big	19	7
extensive	-	9
great	12	-
RUSSIA, ISRAEL	15	42
Russia	9	42
Israel, pro-	6	-
IMPERIALISM, WAR	29	45
imperialism	-	14
exploitation	-	10
curse	-	7
foolishness	-	7
war, stop-	8	7
Army	8	-
pollution	6	-
corruption	7	-
PROGRESS, DEVELOPMENT	-	40
progress	-	20
developed	-	5
extend	-	7
continued	-	8

Main Components and Responses	US	I
RUSSIA, MOSCOW	210	86
Russia, Sov. Union	150	42
republic	-	8
Moscow	25	29
Kremlin	7	-
bear	9	-
hammer&sickle	7	7
olympics	5	-
gymnastics	7	-
COMMUNISM, RED	198	174
communism,t	147	157
comms	10	-
communist party	-	7
red	41	10
BAD, HATE, ENEMY	95	8
bad	12	-
against	7	-
hate	28	-
cruelty	12	-
hurt	5	-
dead	6	-
destroy	5	-
kill	6	-
enemy	-	8
liars	5	-
mean	9	-
WAR, COLD WAR	90	62
revolution	-	23
war	31	16
WW II	-	9
cold war	10	-
nuclear	12	-
arms	6	-
bomb, atomic-	9	7
missiles	6	-
satellites	5	-
space	5	7
sputnik	6	-
COEXISTENCE, BROTHERHOOD	15	20
treaties	6	-
peace	7	-
brotherhood	-	14
coexistence	-	6
U.N.	2	-

SOVIET UNION
PERCEPTIONS AND EVALUATIONS BY
U. S. AND IRANIAN STUDENT GROUPS

Main Components	Percentage of Total Score	
	US	I
Russia, Moscow	23	9
Communism, Red	21	19
Bad, Hate, Enemy	10	1
War, Cold War	10	7
Lack of Freedom, Control	8	4
Coexistence, Brotherhood	2	2
Asia, Europe	6	16
Leaders, Lenin, Stalin	8	15
Big, Cold, Powerful	10	13
Socialism, Capitalism	1	11
Miscellaneous	1	4
Total Scores	925	927

	US	I
LACK OF FREEDOM CONTROL	76	32
Iron Curtain	4	7
wall	-	10
freedomless	8	-
restricted	5	-
salt mines	4	-
prison	-	5
prisoners	8	-
freedom	-	10
control	9	-
rules	5	-
Jews	33	-

Main Components and Responses	US	I
ASIA, EUROPE	61	150
country	18	58
Asia	5	17
Europe	11	35
Siberia	14	-
U.S.	6	7
China	-	6
neighbor	-	20
far country	-	7
foreign	7	-
LEADERS, LENIN, STALIN	70	139
Krushchev	-	12
tzar	-	17
Stalin	11	22
Lenin	25	60
Breshnev	9	16
Marx	16	5
Hitler	9	-
dictator	-	7
BIG, COLD, POWERFUL	93	120
extensive,-country	-	22
great	-	14
large	14	-
big	18	-
power	40	7
force,ful	4	7
snow	-	13
cold	17	-
coolness	-	28
north	-	7
fullness	-	7
separate	-	15
SOCIALISM, CAPITALISM	11	103
socialism,t	-	74
capitalist	11	-
materialist	-	29
MISCELLANEOUS	6	33
religion	-	8
race	-	7
people	-	7
industry	-	9
wheat	6	-
wealth	-	2

ENGLAND

PERCEPTIONS AND EVALUATIONS BY U. S. AND IRANIAN STUDENT GROUPS

Main Components and Responses	US	I
LONDON, BIG BEN	237	92
London	104	57
parliament	17	-
Hyde Park	-	15
bridge	11	-
channel	10	-
Big Ben	29	-
clock	-	10
palace	19	-
castle	14	-
Carneby	10	-
Picadilly	9	-
Oxford	-	10
flag	6	-
ships	5	-
Navy	3	-
ROYALTY, QUEEN, KING	198	140
queen	99	41
king	34	-
monarchy	-	14
royalty	31	-
Elizabeth	16	39
Churchill	7	20
prince	11	-
politics,al	-	26
ISLAND, FOG, RAIN	103	67
beautiful	7	-
small	7	-
Island	15	23
green	4	-
coolness	-	7
fog	31	-
misty	-	21
rain	21	-
ocean	-	9
horses	7	-
dog	-	7
soccer	7	-
tea	6	-
pub	4	-

Main Components	Percentage of Total Score	
	US	I
London, Big Ben	24	10
Royalty, Queen, King	20	15
Island, Fog, Rain	11	7
British, Language	11	7
People, Limies	8	3
Travel, Visit	4	1
Country, Europe, France	20	26
Colonization, War	2	12
Industry, Economy	1	7
Democracy, Freedom	-	4
Law, Order	-	4
Miscellaneous	-	4
Total Scores	990	957

	US	I
BRITISH, LANGUAGE	106	64
language	13	21
accent	30	-
English,-language	17	31
British	46	-
Anglo-Saxon	-	6
civilization	-	6

PEOPLE, LIMIES	75	27
people	-	17
limies	10	-
friends	10	-
mother	17	-
woman	-	10
colony	4	-
guards	11	-
Beattles	11	-
Shakespeare	5	-
Sherlock Holmes	7	-

	US	I
TRAVEL, VISIT	37	7
travel	9	-
trip	-	7
airplane	8	-
visit	3	-
foreign	11	-
overseas	6	-

Main Components and Responses	US	I
COUNTRY, EUROPE, FRANCE	194	244
country	41	117
Britain,England	20	7
Europe	27	44
Wales	13	-
France	43	27
Scotland	18	-
New	11	-
America	-	17
USSR	-	8
India	-	16
Ireland	21	8
COLONIZATION, WAR	24	119
colonize,ation	-	70
imperialism	-	8
dispersion	-	10
war	12	8
revolution	12	-
bad	-	7
two-faced	-	10
corrupt	-	6
INDUSTRY, ECONOMY	6	65
industry	-	15
indust.revolution	-	21
buy	-	15
pound	6	-
bankrupt	-	5
progress	-	9
DEMOCRACY, FREEDOM	-	39
democracy	-	16
freedom	-	23
LAW, ORDER	-	58
constitutional	-	7
law	-	7
order	-	9
established	-	17
education	-	10
university	-	8
MISCELLANEOUS	4	35
bazaar	-	7
cleverness	-	8
power	4	-
times	-	10
clothes	-	10

Main Components
and Responses

	US	I
PARIS, EIFFEL TOWER	258	248
Paris	143	131
Eiffel Tower	69	85
Louvre	5	3
Sorbonne	-	7
Champs Elysees	-	22
champs	5	-
chateau	5	-
Loire	4	-
Seine	7	-
Riviera	4	-
Alps	7	-
flag	9	-
FRENCH, LANGUAGE	123	95
French	73	27
language	24	32
oul	6	-
accent	15	-
lesson	-	7
inheritance	-	8
the great	-	-
civilization	-	12
Renaissance	-	9
artist	5	-
FOOD, WINE	90	42
food	25	6
cheese	17	-
wine	58	28
champagne	-	8
BEAUTY, ROMANCE	65	56
beauty,ful	12	29
delicateness	-	7
color	6	-
beautiful night	-	7
exciting	3	-
fun	3	-
gay	4	-
freedom	-	6
happiness	-	7
love	8	-
romance	9	-
sex,y	20	-

FRANCE

PERCEPTIONS AND EVALUATIONS BY
U. S. AND IRANIAN STUDENT GROUPS

Main Components	Percentage of Total Score	
	US	I
Paris, Eiffel Tower	26	26
French, Language	12	10
Food, Wine	9	4
Beauty, Romance	7	6
Travel, Sightseeing	6	2
Women, Men	5	2
Clothes, Fashion	5	4
War, Revolution	3	1
Country, Europe	20	25
Government, Leaders	4	16
Miscellaneous	2	3
Total Scores	983	939

Main Components
and Responses

	US	I
COUNTRY, EUROPE	198	224
country	47	135
Europe	69	64
England,ish	23	18
Spain	50	-
Italy	9	-
Vietnam	-	7
GOVERNMENT, LEADERS	37	150
republic	-	35
government	-	7
De Gaulle	27	60
Louis XVI	-	7
Napoleon	10	41
MISCELLANEOUS	19	29
class	6	-
money	6	7
expensive	-	8
oil	7	-
law	-	7
hexagon	-	7

	US	I
TRAVEL, SIGHTSEEING	60	19
travel	15	-
trip	-	7
plane	8	-
far	6	-
distant	9	-
foreign	17	-
vacation	5	-
sightseeing	-	7
metro	-	5

	US	I
WOMEN, MEN	53	20
women, elegant	19	7
girls	20	-
Bridget Bardot	-	6
men	14	-
Sartre	-	7
CLOTHES, FASHION	51	44
style	7	-
fashion	14	7
clothes	16	20
beret	14	-
perfume	-	7
stores	-	5
Peugot	-	5

Main Components
and Responses

	US	I
WAR, REVOLUTION	29	12
war	18	-
MW II	7	-
exploitation	-	5
revolution	-	7
hate	4	-

Main Components
and Responses

US I

COUNTRIES, AMERICA, CHINA	431	188
America, U.S.	78	116
China, of-	138	-
England	-	12
France	-	30
Canada	9	-
Dominican	22	-
Soviet	6	-
USSR	15	-
state	17	-
nation	37	14
country	81	16
area	6	-
land	9	-
foreign	13	-
PARTY POLITICS	119	39
Republican	19	-
Democrats	48	-
elephant	7	-
party	21	-
politics	24	39
GOVERNMENT, REGIME	58	41
government	54	22
organization	4	-
parliament	-	10
regime	-	9
DEMOCRACY, CAPITALISM, SOCIALISM	45	52
democracy	33	38
democratic gov't	-	14
capitalist	5	-
socialist	7	-
TOGETHER, UNITED	30	19
together	15	-
united	7	-
unity	8	-
connection	-	7
partnership	-	12

REPUBLIC

PERCEPTIONS AND EVALUATIONS BY
U. S. AND IRANIAN STUDENT GROUPS

Main Components	Percentage of Total Score	
	US	I
Countries, America, China	48	20
Party Politics	13	4
Government, Regime	6	4
Democracy, Capitalism, Socialism	5	5
Together, United	3	2
Govern, Rule	3	14
Freedom	6	14
President, Leader	4	11
People, Society	8	10
Elections, Vote	1	8
Tyranny, Hypocrisy	-	2
Miscellaneous	2	4
Total Scores	904	946

Main Components
and Responses

US I

GOVERN, RULE	27	135
govern	-	74
rule	8	-
responsibility	-	7
power	-	14
forceful	5	-
influence	-	7
laws	6	-
constitution	4	-
order	4	-
method	-	16
short term	-	7
first	-	10
FREEDOM	56	134
free,dom	45	87
independence	11	17
freedom of speech	-	9
freedom to write	-	7
unlimited	-	7
respect	-	7
PRESIDENT, LEADER	33	105
president	16	58
Carter	-	35
Nixon	5	-
leader,ship	12	12
PEOPLE, SOCIETY	76	100
people	50	38
public	6	14
society	3	20
popular	-	7
race	-	7
mass	-	7
group	17	-
Plato	-	7
ELECTION, VOTE	10	77
election	-	46
right of election	-	15
liberal election	-	7
vote, popular	10	9
TYRANNY, HYPOCRISY	-	23
tyranny	-	7
hypocrisy	-	7
ugly	-	9

	US	I
MISCELLANEOUS	19	33
good	5	-
large	6	-
money	8	-
apparent	-	8
hospital	-	7
welfare	-	8
university	-	10

PERCEPTIONS AND EVALUATIONS BY
U. S. AND IRANIAN STUDENT GROUPS

Main Components and Responses	US	I
I, MYSELF	254	152
I	99	-
ego	16	10
me	-	57
mine	6	5
myself	80	-
half me	-	7
self	28	28
us, we	25	28
1st person sing.	-	10
pronoun	-	7
LOVE, HAPPINESS, COMFORT	79	19
love, r.ing	19	5
like	14	-
happy,ness	30	-
enjoy	6	-
fun	10	-
comfortable	-	7
stability	-	7
IDENTITY, INDIVIDUAL	88	19
identity	10	-
names	60	-
individual	18	12
spirit	-	7
TALL, PRETTY	57	7
tall	11	-
pretty	27	7
blond	13	-
black	6	-
STUDENT, LEARNING	47	55
student	17	21
college	6	-
learn	6	-
questioning	10	-
searching	8	-
psychic	-	7
thoughts	-	7
attention	-	7
think alike	-	6
architect	-	7

Main Components	Percentage of Total Score	
	US	I
I, Myself	32	18
Love, Happiness, Comfort	10	2
Identity, Individual	11	2
Tall, Pretty	7	1
Student, Learning	6	6
Human Being, Person	6	21
You, Him, They	14	15
Ambition, Aim	-	8
Lonely, Selfish	4	8
Good, Kind, Proud	5	8
Life, Existence	2	5
Miscellaneous	2	4
Total Scores	780	829

	US	I
LIFE, EXISTENCE	15	43
life, living	9	15
alive	6	-
existence	-	14
breath	-	7
21 months	-	7
MISCELLANEOUS	12	31
see	6	-
oh my	6	-
God	-	7
sauna	-	7
Freud	-	10
psychology	-	7

Main Components and Responses	US	I
HUMAN BEING, PERSON	45	178
human, being	-	53
person	27	37
personality	6	5
society	-	7
man	12	29
boy	-	9
son	-	7
woman	-	17
daughter	-	7
mother	-	7
YOU, HIM, THEY	112	121
you	104	62
him, he	8	36
they	-	23
AMBITION, AIM	-	68
ambitious	-	10
want	-	12
aim	-	10
wish	-	9
dream	-	7
ability	-	7
devoted	-	6
perseverance	-	7
LONELY, SELFISH	32	67
alone	19	-
puzzled	-	7
sad	7	-
mad	-	13
selfish,ness	6	23
uninformed	-	7
useless	-	7
nothing	-	10
GOOD, KIND, PROUD	39	69
good	14	24
kind,ness	-	12
understanding	6	-
nice	6	-
proud,pride	-	26
friend	7	7
interesting	6	-

Main Components and Responses	US	I
GOOD, HONEST, KIND	164	66
good,ness	18	14
honest	24	-
correctness	-	5
trustworthy	8	-
true	7	-
sincerity	-	10
kind,ness	6	9
nice	10	-
praiser	-	7
helpful	11	-
happy,ness	18	-
confident,ce	6	-
intelligent	11	-
thinking	-	7
interesting	8	-
unique	11	-
great	6	-
pride	11	-
self discipline	-	14
independent	9	-
OTHERS, FAMILY, FRIENDS	140	53
family	7	26
relative	-	17
parents	10	-
daughter	-	10
friends	25	-
girlfriend	15	-
you	13	-
others	21	-
student	18	-
Christian	10	-
worker	15	-
personality	6	-
WANTS, NEEDS	58	-
ambition,ious	6	-
want	10	-
needing	13	-
goals	10	-
trying	12	-
future	7	-

SELF

PERCEPTIONS AND EVALUATIONS BY U. S. AND IRANIAN STUDENT GROUPS

Main Components	Percentage of Total Score	
	US	I
Good, Honest, Intelligent	19	10
Others: Family, Friends	16	9
Wants, Needs	7	-
Love, Caring	6	1
Alone, Selfish	5	1
Health, Strength	4	1
I, Me	33	44
Conscience, Spirit	1	14
Exist, To Be	3	8
Human Being, Person	6	8
Miscellaneous	-	4
Total Scores	846	615

	US	I
LOVE, CARING	48	7
love,ing	36	7
care,ing	12	-
feeling	-	11
ALONE, SELFISH	44	8
alone	22	-
confused	6	-
lost	7	-
selfishness	-	8
unknown	9	-
HEALTH, STRENGTH	32	7
strong	9	-
small	8	-
young	8	-
health	7	-
body	-	7

Main Components and Responses	US	I
I, ME	282	270
I	60	-
me	168	88
mine	13	-
own	7	-
individual,ty	20	43
one	6	-
identity	8	-
myself	-	27
self	-	112
CONSCIENCE, SPIRIT	6	89
characteristic	-	12
conscience	-	34
mind	6	-
spirit	-	12
interior	-	31
EXIST, TO BE	22	46
existence	-	22
alive	6	-
am, to be	16	17
self-existence	-	7
HUMAN BEING, PERSON	50	46
human,being	11	46
person	39	-
MISCELLANEOUS	-	23
familiar	-	10
flowing	-	13

CONSCIENCE

PERCEPTIONS AND EVALUATIONS BY U. S. AND IRANIAN STUDENT GROUPS

Main Components
and Responses US I

MIND, THOUGHT, KNOWLEDGE	180	35
mind	83	-
brain	14	-
head	10	-
mental	6	-
mentality	6	-
think	6	13
thoughts	25	-
know,ing	15	-
knowledge	6	15
understanding	9	-
broadmindedness	-	7
GUILT, WORRY	105	7
guilt,y	79	-
hurt	6	-
regret	6	-
worry	6	7
fear	8	-
EGO, ID, SELF	75	34
self	12	14
ego	11	-
Id	9	-
superego	13	-
subconscious	6	20
hypnosis	9	-
Freud	7	-
science	8	-
BAD, WRONG, SIN	45	36
bad	24	-
black	6	-
wrong	15	-
crime	-	7
criticize	-	7
treachery	-	7
sin	-	15
WORK, STRIVE	-	33
work	-	17
strive	-	7
force	-	9

Main Components	Percentage of Total Score	
	US	I
Mind, Thought, Knowledge	23	4
Guilt, Worry	14	1
Ego, Id, Self	10	4
Bad, Wrong, Sin	6	4
Morality, Values, Religion	10	19
Good, Clear, Peaceful	11	14
State: Conscious, Unconscious	4	12
Soul, Spirit, Feeling	8	12
Humanity, People	2	11
Guide, Judge, Voice	8	10
Work, Strive	-	4
Miscellaneous	4	5
Total Scores	773	821

	US	I
HUMANITY, PEOPLE	14	87
humanity	-	49
human	-	10
friend	-	5
doctor	-	7
husband	-	7
woman	-	9
Don Juan	6	-
social	8	-

	US	I
GUIDE, JUDGE, VOICE	62	83
conscience	-	14
guide	20	-
angel	6	-
cricket	9	-
devil	6	-
God	10	17
voice	11	-
judge	-	16
each persons'	-	-
lawyer	-	7
law court	-	29

	US	I
MISCELLANEOUS	32	39
prestige	-	12
body	7	7
mond	9	-
sign	-	7
nothing	6	-
objector	10	-
future	-	7
life	-	6

Main Components
and Responses US I

MORALITY, VALUES, RELIGION	80	153
moral,s,ity	44	8
values	12	-
beliefs	12	-
faith	-	37
Christian	6	-
religion	-	29
justice	-	9
duty	6	-
responsibility	-	7
honor	-	36
nobleness	-	7
sincerity	-	12
truth	-	8
GOOD, CLEAR, PEACEFUL	86	115
good,ness	43	39
clean	-	7
clear	18	-
right	19	-
purity	-	20
good breath	-	7
peace,ful	6	16
tranquility	-	9
rest	-	17

	US	I
STATE: CONSCIOUS, UNCONSCIOUS	32	100
state	11	-
aware, of	15	-
awaken,ing	-	14
conscious,ness	-	54
enthusiasm	-	7
unconscious	6	18
turned off	-	7

	US	I
SOUL, SPIRIT, FEELING	62	99
soul	15	-
spirit	-	32
heart	7	-
feelings	26	13
instinctive	-	-
feeling	-	7
drives	6	-
sense	-	12
interior	-	35
inside	8	-

Main Components
and Responses

US I

FRIENDLY, GOOD,
POLITE

289 40

friendly	32	-
out going	21	-
open	5	-
active	8	-
assert	7	-
strong	11	-
nice	31	-
pleasant	7	-
likeable	13	-
charming	11	-
cheerful	7	-
funny	12	-
laugh	12	-
smile	10	-
good	51	7
kind,	10	-
sweet	8	-
exciting	15	-
glow	6	-
warm	12	-
politeness	-	20
socialize	-	6
gracefulness	-	7

INDIVIDUAL, UNIQUE

105 21

person	9	-
personal	9	-
private	-	7
individual	27	14
one	6	-
being	6	-
me	9	-
self	13	-
unique	26	-

BAD, DULL

62 7

bad	11	-
bitchy	6	-
mean	6	-
false	6	-
dull	13	-
none	9	-
dirty	-	7
needing	5	-
wants	6	-

PERSONALITY

PERCEPTIONS AND EVALUATIONS BY
U. S. AND IRANIAN STUDENT GROUPS

Main Components	Percentage of Total Score	
	US	I
Friendly, Good, Polite	34	7
Individual, Unique	12	4
Bad, Dull	7	1
Different, Strange	7	-
Appearance, Dress	6	1
Position, Greatness	3	27
Intelligent, Educated	10	26
Character, Behavior	13	20
Humanity, People	4	10
Miscellaneous	3	4
Total Scores	848	541

	US	I
DIFFERENT, STRANGE	63	-
different	26	-
abnormal	6	-
strange	8	-
split	18	-
sad	5	-
APPEARANCE, DRESS	54	6
looks	19	-
appearance	15	-
dress	5	-
clothes	-	6
pretty	4	-
beauty	11	-

	US	I
HUMANITY, PEOPLE	32	56
humanity	-	28
human,ness	-	28
people	4	-
everyone	5	-
sexes	10	-
you	13	-
MISCELLANEOUS	27	22
love	7	-
beneficial	-	8
judged	8	-
psychology	6	-
unknown	6	-
validity	-	7
perfection	-	7

Main Components
and Responses

US I

POSITION, GREATNESS

22 148

position	-	44
social,position	-	7
rank	-	12
important	22	-
greatness	-	20
power	-	9
splendor	-	9
respect	-	25
queen	-	7
money	-	14

INTELLIGENT,
EDUCATED

83 133

intelligent	6	-
creative	5	-
knowledgeable	-	7
knowing	6	-
understanding	-	10
mind	19	-
think,ing	8	10
thoughts	11	7
talk	10	-
speech	-	13
high minded	-	9
conscious	-	8
common sense	-	15
self possession	-	14
meaningful	6	-
education	-	16
training	-	15
literally	-	9
believe	6	-
emotions	6	-

CHARACTER,
BEHAVIOR

111 108

character	38	7
trait	17	-
ways	4	-
nature	-	17
existence	-	26
essence of	-	-
existence	-	7
behavior	21	31
actions	6	-
adjustment	12	-
change	13	-
demonstrate	-	13
method	-	-

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Main Components
and Responses

US I

GREEDY, STINGY, UNSHARING	199	-
greedy	60	-
wants	29	-
hoard	9	-
miser	12	-
stingy	23	-
tight	9	-
saving	7	-
keeping	12	-
scrooge	9	-
take	7	-
unsharing	16	-
pig	6	-

MEAN, UNKIND, SPOILED	143	65
mean	25	-
nasty	14	-
cruel	14	-
hurt	7	-
unkind	25	-
careless	8	-
uncaring	9	-
spoiled	19	-
rotten	7	-
lowness	-	21
unvaluable	-	14
stupidity	8	14
foolish	-	6
lack of foresight	-	10
childish	7	-

EGO, SELF CENTERED	114	14
ego	21	7
me	38	7
one	14	-
oneself	6	-
self centered	35	-

BAD, WRONG, HATE	86	8
bad	28	-
wrong	15	-
unfair	18	-
contempt	-	8
hate	14	-
dislike	11	-

SELFISHNESS

PERCEPTIONS AND EVALUATIONS BY
U. S. AND IRANIAN STUDENT GROUPS

Main Components	Percentage of Total Score	
	US	I
Greedy, Stingy, Unsharing	25	-
Mean, Unkind, Spoiled	18	9
Ego, Self Centered	15	2
Bad, Wrong, Hate	11	1
Lonely, Insecure	9	-
People, Everyone	7	2
Sharing, Generosity	5	-
Money, Wealth	5	3
Selfish	-	41
Pride, Ambition	-	38
Miscellaneous	4	5
Total Scores	775	745

	US	I
LONELY, INSECURE	70	-
alone	8	-
lonely	7	-
cold	6	-
closed	8	-
insecurity	9	-
feelings	10	-
pity	12	-
poor	10	-
PEOPLE, EVERYONE	55	14
people	5	-
individual	11	-
everyone	17	-
human being	-	7
brothers	8	-
girl	-	7
roommates	11	-
friends	3	-

Main Components
and Responses

US I

SELFISH	-	305
selfish	-	125
se:lfishness	-	180

PRIDE, AMBITION	-	280
pride	-	106
praise oneself	-	13
proud	-	71
ambition	-	13
ambitiousness	-	23
haughtiness	-	21
superiority	-	12
show off	-	7
hypocrisy	-	7
fame	-	7

MISCELLANEOUS	30	37
sometimes	8	-
food	14	-
good	8	7
reality	-	7
complex	-	9
futilities	-	7
country	-	7

MONEY, WEALTH	36	22
money	23	-
rich	7	10
wealth	6	-
luxury	-	5
worship money	-	7

SHARING, GENEROSITY	42	-
sharing	31	-
generosity	6	-
receive	5	-

Main Components and Responses	US	I
PSYCHOLOGY, STUDY, MODIFY	107	47
psychology	19	-
study	9	-
learning	13	-
reinforcement	5	-
response	7	-
changing	5	-
modify	40	-
skinner	9	-
training	-	37
school	-	10
STRANGE, WEIRD	87	-
pathological	10	-
abnormal	9	-
psychotic	11	-
crazy	6	-
strange	22	-
deviant	10	-
weird	13	-
funny	6	-
BAD, POOR	86	35
bad	62	35
evil	10	-
poor	14	-
MIND, SPEECH, ATTITUDE	75	69
mental	5	-
mind	6	-
thought	8	21
meaning	16	-
speak	-	7
speeches	-	27
talk	-	7
argue	-	7
attitude	12	-
motivation	6	-
emotions	11	-
personality	11	-
ANIMAL	37	-
animals	19	-
monkeys	18	-

BEHAVIOR

PERCEPTIONS AND EVALUATIONS BY
U. S. AND IRANIAN STUDENT GROUPS

Main Components	Percentage of Total Score	
	US	I
Psychology, Study, Modify	15	5
Strange, Weird	12	-
Bad, Poor	12	4
Mind, Speech, Attitude	11	7
Animal	5	-
Good, Kind, Polite	14	23
Patterns, Ways, Habits	10	22
Behave, Act	11	19
Human, Social	8	15
Miscellaneous	2	4
Total Scores	717	933

	US	I
HUMAN, SOCIAL	60	143
human	14	-
family	-	24
child	11	-
parent	6	-
father	-	13
social	18	-
society	11	20
nurse	-	7
friendship	-	8
socialize	-	15
contact	-	24
house	-	10
job	-	15
work	-	7

	US	I
MISCELLANEOUS	13	37
faith	-	8
hope	-	8
important	9	-
atmosphere	-	6
situation	-	7
appearance	4	-
position	-	8

Main Components and Responses	US	I
GOOD, KIND, POLITE	101	217
good	101	47
right	-	8
praiseworthy	-	7
goodness	-	37
kindness	-	20
niceness	-	10
courtesy	-	14
politeness	-	30
dignity	-	30
respect	-	8
greatness	-	6

PATTERNS, WAYS, HABITS	US	I
normal	21	-
orderly	6	-
norms	7	-
patterns	26	-
formalities	-	23
customs	-	21
cultures & customs	-	16
ways & means	-	13
way	-	43
culture	-	8
habits	-	31
nature	-	17
manner,isms	9	10
Zoroastrian	-	15
Moslem	-	7

BEHAVE, ACT	US	I
behave	-	61
behavior	-	75
act	24	14
action	29	-
hyperactive	7	-
wild life	10	-
overt	6	-
movement	6	-
walk	-	7
eat	-	7
life	-	17

GOALS

PERCEPTIONS AND EVALUATIONS BY U. S. AND IRANIAN STUDENT GROUPS

Main Components and Responses	US	I
JOB, WORK	161	57
job	36	-
professorship	-	7
career	14	-
business	-	13
work	46	17
effort	5	7
strive	37	-
try	12	-
seek	11	-
continue	-	8
support	-	5
SPORTS, FOOTBALL, HOCKEY	127	-
sports	9	-
game	6	-
football	25	-
basketball	8	-
field	5	-
soccer	17	-
goalie	17	-
hockey	22	-
points	7	-
score	15	-
touchdown	4	-
ACHIEVE, REACH	108	31
achievement	47	-
obtaining	9	-
reach	37	14
end	9	-
result	-	17
win	6	-
MARRIAGE, LOVE	33	26
marriage,d	10	9
husband	-	7
family	12	-
children	5	-
home, house	6	10

Main Components	Percentage of Total Score	
	US	I
Job, Work	17	7
Sports, Football, Hockey	13	-
Achieve, Reach	11	4
Marriage, Love	3	3
Life, Death	3	3
Ambition, Purpose	9	25
Hopes, Wishes	16	18
Success, Happiness	11	17
Planning, Education	7	13
Future	7	9
Miscellaneous	3	1
Total Scores	960	809

	US	I
PLANNING, EDUCATION	64	102
plan,ning for	-	-
living	10	7
intend	-	7
set	13	-
change	7	-
way	-	20
education	7	38
school	27	-
thought	-	9
lesson	-	21

	US	I
LIFE, DEATH	30	27
life	30	24
death	-	3
MISCELLANEOUS	25	7
failure	8	-
unknown	9	-
don't know	-	7
many	8	-

Main Components and Responses	US	I
AMBITION, PURPOSE	88	206
ambition	30	6
drive	7	-
motives	7	-
purpose	-	99
aims	18	42
objectives	26	-
signal	-	16
goals	-	7
extreme,-limit	-	21
destiny	-	15
HOPES, WISHES	154	147
hopes	19	27
wishes	9	84
faith	-	7
expectations	7	-
dreams	15	-
idea,s	16	12
desires	20	17
needs	11	-
wants	16	-
ideals	6	-
high	26	-
important	9	-
SUCCESS, HAPPINESS	104	135
success,ful	23	35
progress	-	18
money,making-	21	24
rich	11	-
travel	6	-
esteem	-	7
fame	7	-
position	-	15
happiness	30	22
satisfaction	6	-
convenience	-	14

FUTURE

PERCEPTIONS AND EVALUATIONS BY U. S. AND IRANIAN STUDENT GROUPS

Main Components and Responses	US	I
TIME, PRESENT, PAST	209	143
time	23	30
years	10	-
days	4	-
today	6	-
now	16	15
present	40	-
past	54	34
yesterday	-	7
tomorrow	28	29
future	-	21
near	13	-
beyond	4	-
ahead	11	-
support for today	-	7
UNKNOWN, UNCERTAIN	88	53
unknown	55	36
uncertain	18	-
unsure	8	-
questionable	7	-
imagination	-	17
SUCCESS, HAPPINESS	89	68
progress	-	16
success,ful	6	20
travel	15	-
money	22	15
wealthy	-	7
happiness	26	10
fun	4	-
independence	5	-
peace	11	-
SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY	85	-
science	9	-
technology	10	-
space	4	-
modern	10	-
new	8	-
fast	4	-

Main Components	Percentage of Total Score	
	US	I
Time, Present, Past	23	21
Unknown, Uncertain	10	8
Success, Happiness	10	10
Science, Technology	9	-
Marriage, Family	8	8
Job, Career	6	2
Planning, Education	6	3
Shock, Fear	6	5
Hope, Goals, Predestination	13	31
Life, Death	3	7
Bright, Better	4	4
Miscellaneous	3	1
Total Scores	902	675

	US	I
MARRIAGE, FAMILY	68	56
marriage	21	24
family	13	9
father	-	8
children	13	-
woman	-	9
home	8	-
mother	-	6
love	13	-
JOB, CAREER	50	14
work	9	-
jobs	17	-
career	13	-
profession	-	7
moving	4	-
change	7	-
construction	-	7

	US	I
PLANNING, EDUCATION	52	18
plan,ing	33	-
education	-	18
study	9	-
prepare	10	-
SHOCK, FEAR	51	32
shock	37	-
worry	-	7
fear	7	-
different	7	-
bad luck	-	16
trouble	-	9

Main Components and Responses	US	I
HOPE, GOALS, PREDESTINATION	116	210
hope	53	68
dream	-	10
wish	-	43
want	4	-
motive	-	7
ambition,ous	9	-
fate	10	-
goals	40	-
predestination	-	36
aims	-	26
expectation	-	6
search	-	14
LIFE, DEATH	24	50
life	11	18
old age, oldness	10	12
death	3	20
BRIGHT, BETTER	39	24
brightness,er	20	-
promise	6	-
good	3	10
better,-than today	6	7
best	-	7
easy	4	-
MISCELLANEOUS	31	7
world	18	-
wax	13	-
inner	-	7

Main Components
and Responses

	US	I
LOVE, UNDERSTANDING	179	48
love	60	-
care	6	-
kindness	-	6
sweetness	-	5
warm,th	35	-
supporter	-	10
help	9	-
friend,ship	69	27

HOME, CAR	114	-
home	78	-
house	10	-
car	10	-
dog	16	-

BOND, TOGETHERNESS	83	16
bond	12	-
together,ness	31	-
circle	6	-
close	6	-
nearness	-	16
ties	14	-
tight	7	-
unit	7	-

LIFE, ACTIVITIES	66	34
life, live	30	-
dinner	7	-
food	10	-
picnic	6	-
to be busy	-	7
Christmas	13	-
greeting	-	3
commotion	-	10
party	-	14

HAPPINESS, SECURITY	65	-
happy,ness	14	-
security	27	-
fun	9	-
good	9	-
need	6	-

FAMILY

PERCEPTIONS AND EVALUATIONS BY
U. S. AND IRANIAN STUDENT GROUPS

Main Components	Percentage of Total Score	
	US	I
Love, Understanding	18	6
Home, Car	12	-
Bond, Togetherness	8	2
Life, Activities	7	4
Happiness, Security	7	-
People, Group	7	1
Size: Large, Small	5	-
Problems, Quarrel	1	2
Relatives, Aunts, Uncles	4	37
Parents, Children	28	49
Miscellaneous	2	-
Total Scores	974	870

	US	I
PEOPLE, GROUP	72	7
group	31	-
people	13	-
herd	-	5
ma	10	-
me, mine	18	-
society	-	2
SIZE: LARGE, SMALL	50	-
large	15	-
big, large	19	-
small	10	-
planning	6	-

Main Components
and Responses

	US	I
PROBLEMS, QUARREL	13	17
problems	7	-
unhappy	6	-
quarrel	-	17
badness	-	7

RELATIVES, AUNTS, UNCL	39	322
relatives	18	60
related	-	7
relationship	-	5
kin	6	-
grandparents	6	-
uncle	-	92
aunt	-	146
members	9	-
cousin	-	12

PARENTS, CHILDREN	275	426
family	-	196
familiar	-	43
father, dad	75	50
mother, mom	68	39
parents	30	-
children	7	-
to name	-	7
sister	48	24
brother	47	23
marriage	-	7
husband	-	7
from same gene	-	22
generation	-	8

MISCELLANEOUS	18	-
background	6	-
old	6	-
stone	6	-

Main Components and Responses	US	I
MOTHER	187	89
mother, mom	187	89
LOVE, KINDNESS	134	145
love	87	9
lovable	-	14
respect	-	14
dear	-	7
kindness	15	85
understanding	21	-
patience	-	7
confidence	-	9
trust	11	-
TALL, OLD, SICK	64	27
tall	17	-
short	6	-
hand	9	-
old	9	-
age	-	6
pipe	10	-
lonely	6	-
sick	7	-
pain	-	8
difficult	-	13
FIGURE, IMAGE	42	-
role	6	-
figure	15	-
image	21	-
GOOD, GREAT	28	10
good	17	-
great	11	10
LIFE	6	72
life	-	36
existent	-	14
dead, th	6	22
MAN, MALE	48	66
man, masculine	37	66
male	11	-
MISCELLANEOUS	28	30
car	8	-
mechanical	-	10
freedom	-	7
comfortable	-	7
happiness	6	-
welfare	-	6
God	14	-

FATHER

PERCEPTIONS AND EVALUATIONS BY U. S. AND IRANIAN STUDENT GROUPS

Main Components	Percentage of Total Score	
	US	I
Mother	20	9
Love, Kindness	14	14
Tall, Old, Sick	7	2
Figure, Image	4	-
Good, Great	3	1
Family, Home	21	29
Leadership, Responsibility, Strength	11	17
Work, Money	10	12
Life	1	7
Man, Male	5	6
Miscellaneous	3	3
Total Scores	931	1045

Main Components and Responses	US	I
FAMILY, HOME	196	304
family	25	45
parent	8	-
children	29	74
brother	6	16
sister	-	7
marriage	-	10
husband	11	31
spouse	-	8
father	-	9
fatherly	-	7
dad, dy	52	-
fatherless	-	8
grandfather	-	15
grandchild	-	7
home	32	34
son	21	23
daughter	12	-
same gene	-	10
LEADERSHIP, RESPONSIBILITY, STRENGTH	107	182
head, of family	22	-
man of house	-	7
patriarch	9	-
master	-	9
sir	-	13
leader	-	23
guardian	-	14
teacher	-	7
companion	-	9
friend	15	18
responsibility	-	27
care	6	-
protection, -or	6	14
defender	-	5
help, ful	16	-
strong	20	-
power	-	8
knows best	6	-
smart	7	7
painstaking	-	21
WORK, MONEY	91	120
job	12	-
work	24	35
effort	-	5
money, -maker	37	27
bread, winner	9	46
pecuniary power	-	-
security	9	255

Main Components and Responses	US	I
FATHER	172	71
father, dad	172	71
FAMILY, HOME	121	119
family	29	21
uncle	-	7
parent	8	-
grandmother	-	17
grandfather	-	8
husband	-	13
wife	31	20
housewife	-	12
married, y	-	14
brothers	12	-
sister	-	7
house	6	-
home	35	-
CHILDREN, BABIES	100	136
children,		
childhood	57	-
childbirth	6	-
giving birth	-	18
life, beginning-	-	24
baby	19	16
womb	6	-
daughter	12	-
son	-	70
grandchild	-	8
CARE, NOURISHMENT	78	91
care	30	-
help, ful	7	-
duty	-	7
responsibility	-	7
work	-	10
hardworking	-	14
boss	6	-
clean	-	7
kitchen	-	13
cook	20	-
apple pie	13	-
food	15	13
nurse	-	7
milk	-	13

MOTHER

PERCEPTIONS AND EVALUATIONS BY U. S. AND IRANIAN STUDENT GROUPS

Main Components	Percentage of Total Score	
	US	I
Father	20	6
Family, Home	14	10
Children, Babies	12	12
Care, Nourishment	9	8
Love, Affection, Sympathy	24	29
Woman, Mother	13	14
Good, Pure	4	10
Sacrifice, Worry	1	6
Mother's Day	-	4
Miscellaneous	3	1
Total Scores	861	1156

	US	I
SACRIFICE, WORRY	12	65
troubles	-	6
disturbed	-	7
sacrifice, self	-	24
worry	6	8
sad	-	7
screaming	6	-
punishment	-	6
scared	-	7
MOTHER'S DAY	-	49
mother's day	-	49

	US	I
MISCELLANEOUS	27	10
Freud	6	-
money	7	-
letter	7	-
future	-	5
room	-	5

Main Components and Responses	US	I
LOVE, AFFECTION, SYMPATHY	205	336
love, ing	117	60
love for child	-	7
affection	6	-
lovable	-	26
kind, ness	6	94
sympathy	-	31
feeling	-	14
compassionate	-	18
devoted	-	23
faith, fulness	-	5
forgiveness	-	7
understanding	13	-
friend, ship	14	23
truthfulness	-	15
hope	6	-
cogenital	-	3
peaceful	-	10
warmth	21	-
soft	8	-
security	7	-
fun	7	-
WOMAN, MOTHER	111	162
mother, my, ly	-	95
mom	34	-
mere	6	-
matriarch	6	-
woman, en	42	67
female	11	-
girl	6	-
Mary	6	-
GOOD, PURE	35	117
throne	-	7
heaven	-	17
second god	-	7
worshipable	-	12
good	29	35
purity	-	18
dear	-	21
OK	6	-

BROTHER

PERCEPTIONS AND EVALUATIONS BY U. S. AND IRANIAN STUDENT GROUPS

Main Components and Responses	US	I
SISTERS	193	58
sisters	193	58
PEOPLE, COMRADES	116	91
people	8	-
comrade	-	62
Black	26	-
soul	24	-
companion	9	12
monk	10	-
none	39	-
human	-	10
consultant	-	7
BIG, OLDER	87	-
big	34	-
tall	6	-
older	21	-
younger	26	-
LIFE, ACTIVITIES	26	-
life	11	-
football	7	-
cars	8	-
FIGHTS, JEALOUSY	18	15
fight	8	-
pain	10	-
jealousy	-	8
enemy	-	7
HELP, COOPERATION	25	63
help	19	17
cooperation	-	9
collaboration	-	16
protection,-or	6	21
MISCELLANEOUS	29	24
room	6	-
know	6	-
heavy	9	-
want	8	-
hope	-	9
resting place	-	9
government	-	6

Main Components	Percentage of Total Score	
	US	I
Sisters	22	6
People, Comrades	13	10
Big, Older	10	-
Life, Activities	3	-
Fights, Jealousy	2	2
Love, Friendship	16	26
Family, Parents	17	24
Male, Boy	8	12
Good, Kind	2	11
Help, Cooperation	3	7
Miscellaneous	3	3
Total Scores	865	923

Main Components and Responses	US	I
LOVE, FRIENDSHIP	143	236
love	43	14
lovable	-	24
affection	-	10
friend,ship	63	151
brotherhood	10	-
familiarity	-	7
trust	6	-
together	6	-
close,ness	15	8
same mind	-	10
equality	-	12
FAMILY, PARENTS	147	226
family	28	47
father	28	60
mother	14	27
child	-	30
relation,ship	10	-
same gene	-	27
blood	8	-
names	38	-
mine	6	-
husband	-	9
uncles	-	26
brother	6	-
sibling	9	-
MALE, BOY	68	108
boy	44	53
man	13	45
male	11	10
GOOD, KIND	13	102
goodness	-	16
good mood	-	7
compassionate	-	8
kindness	-	53
successfulness	-	9
strong	6	-
smart	7	-
aware	-	9

Main Components and Responses	US	I
AGE, SIZE, NUMBER	157	24
younger	18	-
small	6	-
little	23	-
older	30	-
one	9	-
only	6	-
none	6	-
two	18	-
good	10	24
pretty	20	-
smart	11	-
BROTHERS	148	34
brothers	148	34
NUN	39	-
nun	39	-
FIGHTS, TROUBLE	24	10
fights	18	-
worry	6	-
trouble	-	10
FEMALES	92	116
female	8	-
girls	60	80
women	24	36
HELP, PROTECT	13	52
help,ful	7	20
protection	6	17
collaborate	-	8
female servant	-	7
MISCELLANEOUS	33	6
school	6	-
room	9	-
Easter	6	-
clothes	6	-
alike	6	-
greatness	-	6

SISTER
PERCEPTIONS AND EVALUATIONS BY
U. S. AND IRANIAN STUDENT GROUPS

Main Components	Percentage of Total Scores	
	US	I
Age, Size, Number	18	3
Brothers	17	4
Nun	4	-
Fights, Trouble	3	1
Love, Kindness	9	23
Family, Relatives	23	25
Friends	10	19
Females	11	14
Help, Protect	2	6
Miscellaneous	4	1
Total Scores	860	849

Main Components and Responses	US	I
LOVE, KINDNESS	74	236
love	59	8
lovable	-	17
dear	-	14
kindness	-	87
sympathy,ize	-	21
affection	-	6
compassionate	-	17
faith,fulness	-	8
nearness	-	13
close	8	7
intimate	-	7
trust	7	7
sincere	-	9
purity	-	7
self possession	-	8
FAMILY, RELATIVES	198	211
family	42	38
mother	12	56
father	-	15
sisters	-	18
relationship	6	-
married	9	-
marriage	-	12
relatives	11	-
home	16	-
names	68	-
children	10	24
daughter	11	-
son	-	6
husband	7	-
in-law	6	-
aunt	-	14
from same gene	-	14
close relationship	-	7
self image	-	7
FRIENDS	82	160
friends,girl-	59	87
friendship	-	21
companion	6	23
-hood	17	-
clear friend	-	9
comrade	-	20

Main Components
and Responses

	US	I
ROOMS, FURNITURE, YARD	106	96
rooms	10	23
furniture	8	12
four walls	-	15
couch	6	-
bed	17	-
window	-	9
telephone	-	3
bathroom	-	7
woods	6	-
trees	13	-
yard	-	12
flowers	-	6
fence	8	-
car	6	-
dog	32	-
clean,liness	-	9
LOVE, UNDERSTANDING	86	49
love	67	7
tie	6	-
understanding	-	9
kindness	-	18
friends	13	8
community of kindness	-	7
WARMTH	81	7
warmth	57	7
fire	15	-
hearth	9	-
LIFE, ACTIVITIES	81	41
life, live	30	9
work	14	5
weekends	6	-
Christmas	12	-
away	13	-
sick	6	-
study	-	5
sleep	-	22
FOOD	40	28
food	40	17
kitchen	-	9
eat	-	2

HOME

PERCEPTIONS AND EVALUATIONS BY
U. S. AND IRANIAN STUDENT GROUPS

Main Components	Percentage of Total Score	
	US	I
Rooms, Furniture, Yard	12	10
Love, Understanding	10	5
Warmth	9	1
Life, Activities	9	4
Food	4	3
Family, Children	28	31
House, Cottage	15	24
Rest, Peace, Security	9	20
Miscellaneous	4	1
Total Scores	896	966

	US	I
MISCELLANEOUS	36	12
school	6	-
Arizona	6	-
Accokeek	6	-
Pa.	6	-
protection	6	-
rent	-	6
bad	6	-
mosaic	-	6

Main Components
and Responses

	US	I
FAMILY, CHILDREN	254	301
family	122	71
father	17	62
mother	45	49
parents	23	-
children	7	13
baby, child	-	7
marriage	-	10
husband	-	13
wife	14	-
woman	-	29
man	-	10
brother	8	15
sisters	7	15
people	11	-
housemate	-	7
HOUSE, COTTAGE	133	234
house, home	118	153
shelter	6	-
cottage	-	23
apartment	-	12
farm	9	-
nest	-	17
place to retire	-	8
dwelling	-	14
place to live	-	7
REST, PEACE, SECURITY	77	198
security	38	7
safe	6	-
escape place	-	16
relax	12	-
rest,-area	-	66
comfort,able	23	-
silence	-	7
quietness	-	39
peace,fulness	-	26
tranquility	-	27
purity	-	10
good	15	-
joy	7	-

Main Components and Responses	US	I
PARENTS, FAMILY	138	346
parents	16	-
father	27	34
mother	23	30
family	72	282
LOVE, FRIENDSHIP	32	40
love	8	-
friendly,ship	11	10
nice	13	-
kindness	-	8
cooperative	-	7
peace	-	7
PROBLEMS, HATE	23	26
argument	-	7
hate	-	7
commotion	-	6
poor	9	-
ugliness	-	6
old	8	-
dead	6	-
MISCELLANEOUS	37	7
car	7	-
wills	6	-
crabs	6	-
Ireland	6	-
New York	6	-
mark	6	-
life motive	-	7

RELATIVES

PERCEPTIONS AND EVALUATIONS BY U. S. AND IRANIAN STUDENT GROUPS

Main Components	Percentage of Total Scores	
	US	I
Family Members	33	20
Aunts, Uncles	25	22
Visits, Holidays	9	3
People, Friends	9	8
Parents, Family	14	38
Love, Friendship	3	4
Problems, Hate	2	3
Miscellaneous	4	1
Total Scores	956	911

Main Components and Responses	US	I
FAMILY MEMBERS	316	186
brothers	31	24
sisters	27	32
grandmother,ma	26	10
grandparents	42	-
grandchild	-	6
kin	17	-
nephew	6	-
niece	6	-
cousins	88	35
body members	-	7
blood	21	-
relation,s	20	6
related	-	16
close,ness	7	6
distant	25	-
relatives	-	44
AUNT, UNCLES	240	201
aunts	122	104
uncles	118	97
VISITS, HOLIDAYS	84	29
visits	11	-
Christmas	13	-
dinner	17	-
holidays	16	-
Thanksgiving	14	-
presents	7	-
fun	6	-
wedding	-	7
party	-	22
PEOPLE, FRIENDS	86	76
people	15	-
race	-	10
society	-	8
funny talks	-	7
neighbor	12	-
folk	8	-
friends	51	17
acquaintance	-	27
tribe	-	7

Main Components
and Responses

	US	I
HISTORY, PAST	242	188
history	8	44
past	48	66
previous	6	-
old times	76	7
ancient	42	15
ancient	6	-
time	11	-
today	5	-
forgotten	-	10
deceased, dead, th	23	46
relics	6	-
life	10	-

PEOPLE, APES	122	123
nobles	-	15
country	-	7
Iran	-	7
Greeks	8	-
Russian	10	-
Polish	6	-
Romania	6	-
Irish	6	-
pilgrims	8	-
Jews	6	-
black	6	-
west	6	-
Stonehenge	6	-
people	22	-
man, men	6	13
race	-	49
race, seed	-	17
apes, monkeys	26	15

FAMILY, FOREFATHERS	123	169
family	44	9
mother	-	16
parents	9	26
grandmother	-	36
grandfather	-	37
fathers of the past	-	17
forefathers	19	-
forebears	6	-
predecessors	6	-
grandparents	28	-
children	-	10
decendants	11	-
elderly	-	5
home	-	13

ANCESTORS

PERCEPTIONS AND EVALUATIONS BY
U. S. AND IRANIAN STUDENT GROUPS

Main Components	Percentage of Total Score	
	US	I
History, Past	35	19
People, Apes	18	12
Family, Forefathers	18	17
Relatives	12	1
Heritage, Genealogy	7	4
Pride, Wealth	3	2
Ancestors	-	38
Customs, Tradition	2	3
Religion, Faith	-	2
Miscellaneous	5	1
Total Scores	686	995

	US	I
RELATIVES	84	7
relatives	50	7
kin	11	-
aunts	15	-
relation, ship	8	-
HERITAGE, GENEALOGY	47	44
heritage	31	-
inheritance	-	28
genealogy	6	-
tree	10	7
book	-	9
PRIDE, WEALTH	20	18
pride, proud	14	-
worthy to know	-	6
improve	-	6
rich	6	-
wealth	-	6

Main Components
and Responses

ANCESTORS	-	383
ancestors	-	383
CUSTOMS, TRADITION	14	26
culture	8	-
customs	-	8
tradition	6	10
formalities	-	8
RELIGION, FAITH	-	24
faith	-	7
religion	-	3
prophet	-	8
God	-	6
MISCELLANEOUS	34	13
many	8	-
pigs	6	-
blind	-	10
picture	-	3
boat	6	-
desert	6	-
poor	8	-

Main Components and Responses	US	I
WEDDING, PARTY	156	96
wedding	38	13
ceremony	9	-
certificate	7	-
license	12	-
cake	6	-
church	29	-
ring	28	45
wedlock	8	-
white	8	7
honeymoon	11	-
celebration	-	16
court	-	7
engagement	-	8
HAPPINESS, SECURITY	139	76
good	29	-
happiness	34	24
security	26	-
successful	-	6
lasting	7	-
long	7	-
need	-	8
want	-	7
enjoy	6	-
plan	6	-
new life	-	7
future	12	-
hope	12	14
leisure	-	10
FAMILY, CHILDREN	119	82
family	24	20
parents	7	-
daughter	-	14
son	-	13
baby	7	35
children	48	-
house	6	-
home	18	-
BOND, UNION	99	17
bond,age	25	-
unity, union	24	-
link	-	17
joining	7	-
tie	8	-
togetherness	35	-

MARRIAGE
PERCEPTIONS AND EVALUATIONS BY
U. S. AND IRANIAN STUDENT GROUPS

Main Components	Percentage of Total Score	
	US	I
Wedding, Party	16	10
Happiness, Security	15	8
Family, Children	12	9
Bond, Union	10	2
Divorce, Mistake	8	8
Life, Living	4	3
Husband, Wife	14	25
Love, Understanding	15	19
Responsibility, Commitment, Cooperation	6	12
Miscellaneous	-	3
Total Scores	946	916

	US	I
DIVORCE, MISTAKE	75	69
divorce	53	32
counselor	16	-
no	6	-
helplessness	-	7
worry	-	7
mistake	-	8
end	-	7
death	-	8
LIFE, LIVING	37	26
life	30	26
living	7	-

Main Components and Responses	US	I
HUSBAND, WIFE	135	240
two	26	-
couple	11	14
partner	6	10
man, boy	13	62
woman, girl	11	82
wife	41	-
mother	-	5
husband	27	29
marriage	-	14
bride	-	9
spouse	-	15
LOVE, UNDERSTANDING	142	173
love	133	65
faithfulness	-	6
mutual	-	-
understanding	-	7
understanding	-	15
thinking alike	-	7
honesty	-	7
sincerity	-	16
kindness	-	24
sympathy,ize	-	7
forgiveness	-	3
relationship	9	-
friendship	-	16
RESPONSIBILITY, COMMITMENT, COOPERATION	53	106
responsibility	18	15
contract	6	20
signature	-	6
vows	12	7
promise	-	7
cooperation	-	7
correlation	-	7
assist	-	6
sharing	7	-
mixture	-	7
dependence	-	7
sacrifice,self-work	-	3
work	10	-
housekeeping	-	7
good deed	-	7
MISCELLANEOUS	-	31
room	-	12
presence	-	12
nature	-	7

Main Components and Responses	US	I
WIFE, WOMAN	227	156
wife	227	71
woman	-	85
STRENGTH, MONEY, RESPONSIBILITY	194	115
strength, strong	1	-
superiority	-	7
man of family	-	7
boss	-	7
chief	6	-
sir	-	15
supervisor	-	7
supplier	8	-
provider	13	-
breadwinner	-	16
resources	6	-
money maker	33	22
wealthy	-	7
job	23	-
responsibility	13	-
rely on	-	7
worker	40	13
consignment	-	7
security	19	-
need	6	-
want	8	-
MAN, MALE	138	88
male	22	81
man	97	-
boy	8	-
he	-	7
person	11	-
LIFE, LIVING	18	73
life	-	38
live	6	-
food	-	6
sleep	6	-
bed	-	9
clothes	-	7
car	6	-
household	-	13
MISCELLANEOUS	13	20
me	7	7
equal	6	-
porter	-	7
machine	-	6

HUSBAND

PERCEPTIONS AND EVALUATIONS BY
U. S. AND IRANIAN STUDENT GROUPS

Main Components	Percentage of Total Score	
	US	I
Wife, Woman	24	16
Strength, Money, Responsibility	21	12
Man, Male	15	9
Family, Children, Home	22	26
Friend, Partner, Lover	6	11
Love, Kindness	8	11
Life, Living	2	8
Fight, Divorce	2	6
Miscellaneous	1	2
Total Scores	931	971

Main Components and Responses	US	I
FAMILY, CHILDREN, HOME	203	250
family	28	28
father, hood	47	45
ring	12	-
marriage, y	56	43
mother	-	5
children	32	34
child	-	39
home	28	26
brother-in-law	-	7
father-in-law	-	10
mother-in-law	-	13
FRIEND, PARTNER, LOVER	52	106
friend	6	32
partner	-	27
companion	7	16
spouse	11	-
husband	-	24
lover	13	7
sex	15	-
LOVE, KINDNESS	70	105
love	40	34
kind, ness	-	42
good	6	20
fun	7	-
trust	10	-
giving	7	-
of the same mind	-	9
LIFE, LIVING	18	73
life	-	38
live	6	-
food	-	6
sleep	6	-
bed	-	9
clothes	-	7
car	6	-
household	-	13
FIGHT, DIVORCE	18	56
fight	-	15
trouble	-	7
divorce	9	7
animals	7	-
bad	-	10
selfish	-	12
foolish	-	7

Main Components and Responses	US	I
MOTHER, CHILDREN, HOME	296	306
family, big-	34	42
to make a family	-	10
mother, mom	115	126
children, kids	93	43
daughter	-	7
son	-	36
grandmother	-	7
home	35	7
house	19	28
HUSBAND, MAN	155	83
husband	155	67
man	-	16
WOMAN, GIRL	60	25
woman	51	8
female	9	-
human being	-	7
one of weak sex	-	10
HELP, SACRIFICE	29	29
help	19	-
dependent	10	-
mutual thinking	-	7
sacrifice	-	8
to make rod for	-	7
one's back	-	7
subordinate	-	7
GOOD, HAPPINESS, SECURITY	20	20
good	14	17
happiness	-	3
security	6	-

WIFE

PERCEPTIONS AND EVALUATIONS BY U. S. AND IRANIAN STUDENT GROUPS

Main Components	Percentage of Total Score	
	US	I
Mother, Children, Home	31	28
Husband, Man	16	8
Woman, Girl	6	2
Help, Sacrifice	3	3
Good, Happiness, Security	2	2
Friend, Partner, Lover	15	28
Work, Responsibility	10	10
Love, Kindness	9	9
Fight, Divorce	2	4
Beautiful, Young	3	3
Miscellaneous	2	4
Total Scores	953	1093

	US	I
BEAUTIFUL, YOUNG	25	32
beautiful	-	26
pretty	11	-
young	6	-
small	8	-
elegant	-	6
MISCELLANEOUS	18	43
society	-	7
me	12	-
Karen	6	-
life	-	29
single life	-	7

Main Components and Responses	US	I
FRIEND, PARTNER, LOVER	144	309
friend	6	10
companion	12	43
partner	11	21
spouse	17	109
wife	-	10
housewife	-	46
married, age, wed	66	44
lover	8	12
sex	22	-
join hands n life	-	7
partner in inconvenience	-	7
WORK, RESPONSIBILITY	96	107
career	12	-
job	6	-
money	-	6
work, er	14	21
hardworking	-	8
care	12	-
clean	13	7
cook	9	8
dinner	8	-
banquet	-	7
housework	7	16
kitchen	6	13
doing at home	-	7
responsibility	9	7
expectations	-	7
LOVE, KINDNESS	89	94
love	79	21
kind,ness	-	57
faith,fulness	10	10
devoted	-	6
FIGHT, DIVORCE	21	45
divorce	-	28
beat	6	-
slave	9	-
burden	6	-
fight	-	10
inconvenience	-	7

CHILD

PERCEPTIONS AND EVALUATIONS BY
U. S. AND IRANIAN STUDENT GROUPS

Main Components and Responses	US	I
BABY, INFANT	154	31
newly born	-	10
baby	102	14
infant	43	-
pregnant	4	-
crib	3	-
childbirth	-	7
diapers	6	-
YOUNG, BEAUTIFUL	129	24
young	14	-
small	53	-
little	27	-
beauty,ful	-	15
cute	35	-
pretty	-	9
HAPPY, PLAYFUL, INNOCENT	113	52
carefree	6	-
happy	4	-
friendly	7	-
lovable	-	15
kindness	-	22
fun	12	-
playful	8	-
play,s	22	-
toys	14	-
enjoy	-	9
good	-	6
innocent	28	-
naive	12	-
DEVELOPMENT, EDUCATION	94	38
growing	24	-
development	18	-
nature	5	-
experiences	4	-
education	-	7
school	14	13
kindergarten	5	-
learning	9	-
questions	6	-
teacher	4	-
training	-	13
behavior	15	-

Main Components	Percentage of Total Score	
	US	I
Baby, Infant	17	3
Young, Beautiful	14	2
Happy, Playful, Innocent	12	5
Development, Education	10	4
Care, Protection, Dependence	8	2
Love, Want	7	2
Bad, Selfish	4	2
Family, Parents	11	26
Boy, Girl	7	25
Children, Offspring	8	18
Hope, Ambition	-	6
Miscellaneous	1	5
Total Scores	912	1910

	US	I
CARE, PROTECTION, DEPENDENCE	69	15
care	22	-
protective	5	-
baby sitter	6	-
dependent	18	-
helpless	12	-
immature	6	-
money	-	7
clothes	-	8

	US	I
LOVE, WANT	64	22
love	43	22
want	11	-
desire	10	-
BAD, SELFISH	35	21
trouble	-	8
bad	-	6
spoiled	5	-
selfish	6	-
mischievous	8	-
obtrusive	-	7
cry	16	-

Main Components and Responses	US	I
FAMILY, PARENTS	102	260
family	9	38
parents	10	-
father	15	81
mother	34	89
brother	12	7
sister	6	8
marriage	7	30
spouse	-	7
adult	9	-
BOY, GIRL	64	252
boy	24	132
son	14	-
adopted son	-	7
man	-	8
girl	23	82
woman	-	23
sex	3	-
CHILDREN, OFFSPRING	76	183
children	12	94
kids	64	-
adopted child	-	7
grandchild	-	15
offspring	-	13
fruit	-	14
generation	-	2
result	-	17
result of law of nature	-	7
successor	-	7
surviving	-	7
HOPE, AMBITION	-	58
ambition	-	9
determination	-	7
hope	-	32
future	-	10
MISCELLANEOUS	12	54
profit	-	7
crowded	-	10
God	8	-
life	-	37
respect	4	-

Main Components and Responses	US	I
INTELLIGENCE, LEARNING	299	88
reasoning	6	-
mind	6	-
think	-	8
listening	17	-
learning	28	-
question	9	-
school	9	-
teacher	7	-
math	6	-
knowledge	104	-
understandable	-	49
comprehension	48	-
realizing	9	-
grasp	6	-
insight	9	-
seeing	26	-
believing	9	-
perception	-	31
FAMILY, MARRIAGE	65	54
family	13	10
marriage	-	16
father	11	-
mother	13	-
parents	28	-
husband	-	10
wife, woman	-	18
PEOPLE, OTHERS	63	10
people	25	-
human	10	-
me	17	-
others	11	-
society	-	10
GOOD, NEED	38	8
goodness	14	8
great	6	-
needed	12	-
desire	6	-
TALK, DISCUSSION	32	17
language	6	-
fellow speaker	-	10
talk	6	-
elaborate	-	7
relating	8	-
reaching	6	-
come	6	-

UNDERSTANDING
PERCEPTIONS AND EVALUATIONS BY
U. S. AND IRANIAN STUDENT GROUPS

Main Components	Percentage of Total Score	
	US	I
Intelligence, Learning	36	10
Family, Marriage	8	5
People, Others	8	1
Good, Need	4	1
Talk, Discussion	4	2
Love, Friendship	26	39
Cooperation, Agreement	7	31
Peace, Happiness	1	4
Misunderstanding, Enmity	2	3
Miscellaneous	4	2
Total Scores	827	880

	US	I
MISUNDERSTANDING, ENMITY	13	33
misunderstanding	-	7
enmity	-	7
concern	-	12
crime	6	-
no	7	-
fake	-	7
MISCELLANEOUS	31	15
basic	8	-
behavior	-	7
what	6	-
life	9	-
purity	-	8
cool	8	-

Main Components and Responses	US	I
LOVE, FRIENDSHIP	219	340
love, ing	41	16
friendship	41	220
gentle	6	-
kindness	17	35
compassion	10	-
sympathize	12	9
empathy	17	-
caring	26	-
comforting	11	-
warmth	9	-
sincerity	-	58
forgiving	6	-
patient	6	-
mellow	6	-
feeling	11	-
COOPERATION, AGREEMENT	59	276
cooperation	-	17
helpfuling	35	-
aid	-	8
compromise	-	7
sharing	8	-
coexistence	-	14
mutual	9	-
correlation	-	14
agreement	-	29
harmony	-	36
yes	7	7
get together	-	8
unity	-	24
nearness	-	17
aim	-	7
of the same mind	-	88
PEACE, HAPPINESS	8	39
peace	-	14
happiness	-	9
hope	8	-
dream	-	7
equality	-	9

COMPANIONSHIP

PERCEPTIONS AND EVALUATIONS BY U.S. AND IRANIAN STUDENT GROUPS

Main Components and Responses	US	I
FRIENDS, PARTNER	232	159
friend, s	194	29
friendship	27	89
comrade	-	9
partner	11	32
LOVE, SYMPATHY	135	116
love, ing	66	-
lover	29	-
relation, ship	12	-
dependence	-	10
trust	8	-
mutual under- standing	-	29
sympathy	-	70
feeling	6	-
cordiality	-	7
nice	8	-
happy	6	-
PEOPLE, MEN, WOMEN	109	61
public	-	35
people	21	-
woman	15	-
female	20	-
male	6	-
man	18	9
humanity	6	-
victor	6	-
Howard	6	-
two	11	-
leader	-	7
passenger	-	10
TOGETHERNESS, COMPANIONSHIP	99	81
together, ness	76	14
close	15	-
accompany	-	13
companionship	-	54
company	8	-
DOG, ANIMAL	68	-
animal	10	-
dog	58	-

Main Components	Percentage of Total Score	
	US	I
Friend, Partner	26	20
Love, Sympathy	15	14
People, Men, Women	12	8
Togetherness, Companionship	11	10
Dog, Animal	8	-
Living, Walking, Talking	7	6
Good, Needed	5	2
Family, Marriage	4	3
Lonely, Alone	2	1
Help, Cooperate, Share	6	33
Miscellaneous	2	3
Total Scores	873	796

	US	I
LIVING, WALKING TALKING	62	44
life	9	17
living	10	-
say	-	8
talk	16	-
walk, ing	8	13
travel	-	6
fun	19	-

	US	I
GOOD, NEEDED	44	14
good	9	-
needed	29	14
yes	6	-
FAMILY, MARRIAGE	36	27
family	22	-
father	-	12
mother	-	8
wife	14	-
husband	-	7

Main Components and Responses	US	I
LONELY, ALONE	17	12
lonely	10	-
alone	7	12
HELP, COOPERATE, SHARE	57	260
help	14	81
assistance	-	36
protection	-	13
cooperate	-	61
sharing	31	-
effort	-	14
progress	-	14
successful	-	7
winning	6	-
comparison	6	13
equilibrium	-	12
complicity	-	9
MISCELLANEOUS	14	22
capture	-	9
way	-	13
final	8	-
one	6	-

TOGETHERNESS

PERCEPTIONS AND EVALUATIONS BY U. S. AND IRANIAN STUDENT GROUPS

Main Components and Responses	US	I
LOVE, FRIENDSHIP	276	198
love,ing	141	26
friend,s,hip	69	52
brotherhood	-	7
relationship	-	7
sentiment	-	7
feelings	6	10
tender,ness	6	-
affection	-	32
kindness	-	21
care	13	-
communion	9	-
fond	6	-
trust	6	-
confidence	-	7
warm,th	13	-
sex	7	-
understanding	-	8
communication	-	21
CLOSENESS, UNITY	177	83
one,ness	34	-
join	6	-
unity,ed	23	7
tied	-	14
bond	10	-
link	-	18
hold	17	-
close,ness	46	29
touching	9	-
attachment	-	15
power	6	-
long	6	-
forever	8	-
always	12	-
GOOD, HAPPINESS	128	45
good	17	-
need	12	17
values	-	7
party	12	-
happiness	58	-
fun	16	-
play	6	-
security	7	-
unafriad	-	7
hope	-	7
freedom	-	7

Main Components	Percentage of Total Score	
	US	I
Love, Friendship	30	26
Closeness, Unity	20	11
Good, Happiness	14	6
People, Companion	11	2
We, Us	5	-
Worry, Alone	3	3
Family, Relatives	7	33
Sharing, Dependence	6	12
Life, Reality	1	3
Miscellaneous	4	3
Total Scores	904	762

	US	I
WE, US	48	-
me	6	-
we	16	-
us	26	-
MISCELLANEOUS	32	26
talk	7	-
with	7	-
Beattles	6	-
circle	6	-
yeah	6	-
based	-	10
ratio	-	9
stipulate	-	7

Main Components and Responses	US	I
FAMILY, RELATIVES	62	251
family	55	90
father	-	41
mother	-	43
son	-	12
sister	-	16
brothers	-	15
relatives	-	10
wife	7	10
home	-	14
SHARING, DEPENDENCE	51	94
help	16	-
cooperation	-	7
sharing	35	-
support	-	14
responsibility	-	9
to undertake	-	7
continuous	-	-
dependence	-	10
dependence	-	47
LIFE, REALITY	6	24
life	6	17
reality	-	7
PEOPLE, COMPANION	99	20
people	11	-
acquaintance	-	7
man	8	-
girl	6	-
society	-	13
group	17	-
all	13	-
couple	6	-
two	15	-
company	11	-
companion	12	-
WORRY, ALONE	25	21
alone	16	-
tough	9	-
worry	-	7
colonization	-	7
exploitation	-	7

Main Components and Responses	US	I
COURT, LAWS	178	70
courts	74	31
law	12	-
judge	6	5
lawyer	21	-
anulment	6	-
case	6	-
legal	7	-
proceedings	12	-
settlement	6	-
sue	6	-
alimony	22	-
dowry	-	9
ministry of Justice	-	8
notary public's office	-	17
RATE, COMMON	41	-
rate	17	-
common	10	-
everyone	8	-
American	6	-
MISCELLANEOUS	24	46
play	6	-
grass	6	-
life	-	18
Lisa	6	-
Tammy Winet	6	-
society	-	7
contact	-	7
deliverance	-	14
LOVE, UNDERSTANDING	20	33
love	11	-
comfort	-	9
beginning	9	-
compatibility	-	10
mutual understanding	-	14

DIVORCE
PERCEPTIONS AND EVALUATIONS BY
U. S. AND IRANIAN STUDENT GROUPS

Main Components	Percentage of Total Score	
	US	I
Court, Laws	22	6
Rate, Common	5	-
Marriage, Children	33	40
Separation, End, Breakup	16	22
Fights, Hatred	9	10
Sadness, Misfortune	5	9
Bad, Mistake	4	6
Love, Understanding	2	3
Miscellaneous	3	4
Total Scores	798	1125

	US	I
BAD, MISTAKE	29	68
bad	16	-
immoral	7	-
base-born	-	13
vain	-	-
ugly	6	-
vagrant	-	12
stupidity	-	13
mistake	-	9

	US	I
SADNESS, MISFORTUNE	38	102
sad,ness	11	-
cry	-	14
unhappy	11	-
hopelessness	-	7
loneliness	-	12
uneasiness	-	9
unsureness	6	-
pain	-	12
torture	-	5
hurt	10	-
defeat	-	9
hardship	-	13
misfortune	-	21

Main Components and Responses	US	II
MARRIAGE, CHILDREN	265	450
marriage	128	103
husband	18	34
man	14	67
wife	32	-
woman	-	107
family	19	16
parents	8	-
children, kids	46	74
orphan	-	8
mother	-	23
father	-	18
SEPARATION, END, BREAK UP	129	246
separation	79	179
divided	9	-
to untie	-	13
split	18	-
discontinuation	-	15
break up	7	-
cut	-	9
cancer	-	10
end	16	-
released	-	6
annihilated	-	7
transcience	-	7

	74	110
FIGHTS, HATRED	74	110
trouble	-	5
adultery	11	-
fights	25	-
quarrel	-	23
aggressiveness	-	7
cruelty	6	-
treachery	-	13
lack of under- standing	-	10
dislike	9	-
hypocrisy	-	7
break promise	-	7
hatred,ful	17	-
incompatibility	-	12
hard,ness	6	-
difference	-	20
vengeance	-	6

Main Components and Responses	US	I
FAMILY, MARRIAGE	135	110
family	47	8
father,hood	7	7
mother,hood	8	12
parents	20	-
children	-	6
brothers	11	-
sisters	-	6
marriage	29	37
wife	13	-
husband	-	13
son	-	9
daughter	-	16
PEOPLE, MAN, WOMAN	129	61
people	15	-
man	22	31
women	20	23
me	8	-
girl,-friend	33	-
boy,friend	12	7
others	10	-
person	9	-
HATE, PAIN, DEFEAT	100	33
hate	69	-
trouble	-	7
ugliness	-	5
war	8	-
hurt	11	-
pain	12	-
coward	-	7
defeat	-	14
LIFE, NATURE, GOD	97	47
life, live	33	34
animals	6	-
dog	12	-
everything	-	7
heart	21	-
valentine	6	-
God	19	6
SEX, LUST	80	10
sex	60	-
lover	-	10
ecstasy	8	-
lust	12	-

LOVE
PERCEPTIONS AND EVALUATIONS BY
U. S. AND IRANIAN STUDENT GROUPS

Main Components	Percentage of Total Score	
	US	I
Family, Marriage	14	12
People, Man, Woman	13	7
Hate, Pain, Defeat	10	4
Life, Nature, God	10	5
Sex, Lust	8	1
Giving, Sharing	6	4
Feelings, Friendship	25	50
Good, Need, Want	8	9
Happiness, Security, Hope	4	8
Total Scores	963	892

Main Components and Responses	US	I
FEELINGS, FRIENDSHIP	240	447
affection	14	61
love,able	-	17
in love	-	16
friend,ship	48	73
attraction	-	50
feeling	28	7
emotion	10	-
kindness	10	108
warmth	12	-
caring	30	-
respect	8	-
devotion	6	-
attachment	-	6
oneness	-	6
understanding	6	10
relation,ship	21	-
truthfulness	-	44
honesty	6	6
true	12	-
trust	10	-
purity	-	43
togetherness	19	-
GOOD, NEED, WANT	80	82
good	9	-
desire	15	21
need	32	17
wanting	18	9
beauty,ful	6	7
wish	-	6
dream	-	8
habit	-	14
HAPPINESS, SECURITY, HOPE	39	71
happiness	14	-
fun	7	-
leisure	-	14
peace	12	-
security	6	-
hope	-	57
GIVING, SHARING	63	37
giving	26	-
sacrifice,self-	7	31
sharing	24	-
receive	6	-
generous	-	6

Main Components
and Responses

US I

ENJOYMENT, RECREATION	319	151
enjoyment	66	26
fun, to have-	69	8
movie	-	2
games	6	-
reading	6	-
book	-	16
sports	11	-
trip	8	-
driving	7	-
craft	6	-
cruise	9	-
island	6	-
park	6	-
sailing	6	-
swimming	6	-
sea	-	5
leisure	15	-
music	11	7
recreation	12	45
relaxation	26	-
sleep	11	-
eating	13	14
food	7	22
pot	6	-
beer	6	-
clothes	-	6
SEX, LUST	109	50
sex	89	5
lust	6	45
kiss	8	-
climax	6	-
GOOD, WANT	65	63
good,ness	28	16
benefit	-	14
great	8	-
desire	10	7
want	7	-
seek,er	12	17
intent	-	9
PAIN, SIN	62	14
pain	52	-
puzzled	-	7
sin	10	-
corruption	-	7

PLEASURE

PERCEPTIONS AND EVALUATIONS BY
U. S. AND IRANIAN STUDENT GROUPS

Main Components	Percentage of Total Score	
	US	I
Enjoyment, Recreation	38	16
Sex, Lust	13	5
Good, Want	8	7
Pain, Sin	7	2
Happiness, Satisfaction	14	39
Love, Feeling	10	10
Life, Beauty, God	3	8
Friends, Self, Family	4	5
Money, Work	3	4
Miscellaneous	1	3
Total Scores	846	925

	US	I
MONEY, WORK	23	37
money	-	13
wealth	-	6
work	-	5
task	6	-
gain	10	-
winning	7	-
education	-	13
MISCELLANEOUS	6	29
thoughtless	-	5
silent	-	9
tendency	-	8
moral	-	7
yes	6	-

Main Components
and Responses

US I

HAPPINESS, SATISFACTION	119	361
happy,ness	46	217
pleasure,s	-	31
joy	33	32
welfare	-	6
smiling	7	-
gleam	6	-
pleasing,ure	13	14
excitement	-	7
satisfaction	6	13
peace,fulness	-	24
security	8	-
fortunate	-	17
LOVE, FEELING	82	97
love,able	28	62
like	-	8
feeling	28	13
sweetness	-	7
kindness	-	7
warm	11	-
comfort	15	-
LIFE, BEAUTY, GOD	25	77
life	12	38
living	6	-
satisfying break	-	7
momentary	-	7
nature	7	5
beauty,ful	-	6
heaven	-	7
God	-	7
FRIENDS, SELF, FAMILY	36	46
friends	11	-
self	6	-
me, my	13	-
men	6	-
woman	-	17
girl	-	9
mother	-	5
child,ren	-	6
offspring	-	9

Main Components and Responses	US	I
MEN, WOMEN	85	163
men	16	44
boy	-	17
boyfriend	7	-
playboy	9	-
women	40	67
child	-	14
daughter	-	14
self	-	7
Carter	13	-
PLEASURE	19	96
pleasure	-	58
enjoyable	5	-
fun	6	-
fantasy	8	-
satisfied	-	17
reach pleasure	-	14
excitement	-	7
MEAN, DIRTY	10	88
perverse	10	-
meanness	-	13
dirty	-	8
unthoughtful	-	9
one who corrupts	-	7
crime	-	13
treachery	-	9
monstrous	-	7
ugliness	-	7
foolishness	-	15
LACK CONTROL, OVERDO	4	63
overdo, waste	-	24
uncontrollable	4	-
without will	-	9
trapped	-	7
slave	-	7
animal-like	-	7
drunkenness	-	9
LOVE, MARRIAGE	59	62
love	59	22
dear	-	7
nearness	-	6
marriage	-	14
divorce	-	13
MONEY, POWER	34	60
money	19	29
power	15	22
position	-	9

LUST

PERCEPTIONS AND EVALUATIONS BY U. S. AND IRANIAN STUDENT GROUPS

Main Components	Percentage of Total Score	
	US	I
Sex	38	8
Desire, Want	20	16
Greed, Madness	9	8
Bad, Evil	5	3
Men, Women	10	18
Pleasure	2	11
Mean, Dirty	1	10
Lack Control, Overdo	-	7
Love, Marriage	7	7
Money, Power	4	7
Miscellaneous	3	5
Total Scores	856	881

Main Components and Responses	US	I
SEX	328	67
sex, ual	194	42
rape	25	-
hot	4	-
horny	16	-
touching	9	-
fondle	5	-
fuck	10	-
sixty-nine	9	-
pussy	9	-
bed	6	16
bodies	20	-
breasts	8	-
penis	4	-
sweat	9	-
bare	-	9
DESIRE, WANT	171	139
desire	63	49
need	17	49
want	36	12
covetousness	-	10
crave	19	-
obsession	8	-
tendency	-	12
feeling	9	-
passion	19	7
GREED, MADNESS	76	67
mad	-	28
anger	9	-
hate	9	7
greed	47	25
jealousy	11	-
selfishness	-	7
BAD, EVIL	45	28
bad	19	9
wrong	8	-
evil	10	-
sin	8	12
terrible	-	7
MISCELLANEOUS	25	41
movies	8	-
book	-	7
Bible	6	-
always	7	-
life	-	8
take	4	-
nonexistence	-	6
momentum	-	7
moment	-	13

Main Components and Responses	US	I
GIVING, HELP	144	92
help	14	18
compromise	-	-
giving	7	-
sacrifice	-	74
lose	14	-
without	16	-
take	11	-
willing	6	-
RELIGION, GOD	128	-
religion	44	-
church	10	-
God	34	-
biblical	7	-
Christ, Jesus	25	-
worship	8	-
DEATH, LIFE	98	12
kill	16	-
death	14	12
hurt	11	-
blood	10	-
pain	9	-
life	26	-
punishment	12	-
LAMB, COW	82	14
lamb	42	-
cows	8	-
animals	18	-
dog	-	14
meat	6	-
food	8	-
PEOPLE, OTHERS	72	54
people	11	15
humanity	-	13
human	61	21
doctor	-	5

SACRIFICE

PERCEPTIONS AND EVALUATIONS BY U. S. AND IRANIAN STUDENT GROUPS

Main Components	Percentage of Total Score	
	US	I
Giving, Help	21	13
Religion, God	18	-
Death, Life	14	2
Lamb, Cow	12	2
People, Others	10	7
Goal, Progress	9	8
Love, Dedication	7	28
Self Sacrifice, Risk	5	26
Family	-	14
Miscellaneous	4	-
Total Scores	695	721

	US	I
GOAL, PROGRESS	63	60
necessary	7	-
need	7	9
want	8	15
good	12	9
goal	8	-
aim	-	7
progress	-	7
work	8	13
money	6	-
reward	7	-

Main Components and Responses	US	I
LOVE, DEDICATION	46	200
love	46	24
friendship	-	62
friend	-	29
brotherhood	-	10
attachment	-	6
closeness	-	5
devotee	-	9
kindness	-	30
understanding	-	7
lovable	-	18
SELF, SACRIFICE, RISK	32	188
self, inner-	32	7
self sacrifice	-	131
risking one's life	-	26
risk	-	7
courage	-	10
manliness	-	7
FAMILY	-	101
father	-	21
mother	-	56
brothers	-	10
family	-	7
divorce	-	7
MISCELLANEOUS	30	-
sad	9	-
time	12	-
fly	9	-

MAN

PERCEPTIONS AND EVALUATIONS BY U. S. AND IRANIAN STUDENT GROUPS

Main Components and Responses

	US	I
FAMILY, FATHER	106	279
family	6	17
father, dad	48	74
husband	18	73
spouse	-	13
brother	6	10
marriage, marry	14	39
children, kids	6	8
birth	8	-
baby	-	28
home	-	17

STRENGTH, AGGRESSION

	58	173
strength, force	-	-
strong	52	28
power,ful	-	32
headmaster	-	9
superiority	-	6
leader	-	6
governor	-	6
commander	-	6
sir	-	15
brave,-youth	-	10
aggressive,more-	-	39
eminent	-	7
smart	-	9
ideas	6	-

MALE

	76	162
male	27	28
man	-	7
masculine	13	43
boy	36	21
manly	-	65

WORK, BUSINESS

	16	114
work	7	1
hardworking	-	6
struggle	-	13
breadwinner	-	16
business	-	34
money	-	7
active	-	7
zeal	-	3
help	9	-
reliance	-	6
leaning point	-	15

Main Components	Percentage of Total Score	
	US	I
Woman	27	11
People, Animals	14	6
Big, Tall	9	1
Sex	6	-
Family, Father	13	24
Strength, Aggression	7	15
Male	9	14
Work, Business	2	10
Love, Kindness	5	8
Demanding, Mean	1	6
Life, Existence	1	5
Miscellaneous	5	1
Total Scores	810	1151

LOVE, KINDNESS

	US	I
love	64	88
affection	35	28
kindness	-	7
faithful	9	17
good	-	7
great	20	14
	-	15

DEMANDING, MEAN

	US	I
selfish	6	64
unreas. demanding	-	9
cowardliness	-	21
mean	-	12
small	-	7
weakness	-	5
destruction	-	10
	6	-

LIVE, EXISTENCE

	US	I
life	8	55
existence	8	46
	-	9

Main Components and Responses

	US	I
WOMAN	220	128
woman	214	128
girls	6	-

PEOPLE, ANIMALS

	113	72
people	7	15
person	21	-
human,-being	15	43
adult	7	-
me	9	7
friend	6	7
George	6	-
cromagnon	6	-
creative	6	-
animal	16	-
ape	14	-

BIG, TALL

	71	9
big	19	-
beard	6	-
hair,y	18	-
young	7	-
older	10	-
tall	11	-
mustache	-	9

SEX

	52	-
sex,y	42	-
lover	10	-

MISCELLANEOUS

	40	7
world	9	-
God	14	-
step	-	7
want	6	-
need	11	-

Main Components and Responses	US	I
MEN	186	54
men	186	44
husband	-	10
PEOPLE, FRIENDS	113	25
person	14	-
adult	6	-
companion	7	18
friends	16	7
girlfriend	25	-
me	28	-
other	6	-
Eve	11	-
SEX, LOVER	104	43
sex,y	85	24
lover	10	13
sensuous	9	-
flirty	-	6
FEMALE	99	81
female	59	26
feminine	12	-
miss	-	7
lady	28	28
delicate sex	-	7
opposite sex	-	6
complement to man	-	7
STRENGTH, WORKER	47	50
intelligent	6	-
strength,strong	17	-
work,er,-hard	12	10
job	6	-
career	6	-
cooperate	-	14
teacher	-	6
RIGHTS, FREEDOM, EQUALITY	43	-
rights	8	-
freedom	6	-
liberation	8	-
equality	7	-
power	8	-
oppression	6	-

WOMAN

PERCEPTIONS AND EVALUATIONS BY U. S. AND IRANIAN STUDENT GROUPS

Main Components	Percentage of Total Score	
	US	I
Men	20	8
People, Friends	12	4
Sex, Lover	11	6
Female	11	11
Strength, Worker	5	4
Rights, Freedom, Equality	5	-
Marriage, Family	12	31
Love, Kindness, Goodness	6	18
Appearance, Beauty, Smoothness	12	14
Miscellaneous	4	6
Total Scores	913	723

	US	I
MISCELLANEOUS	36	41
hunk	6	-
hope	6	-
dirty	-	7
trouble	-	7
bringweight	-	7
melt	6	-
moving	6	-
life, part of	6	20
wire	6	-

Main Components and Responses	US	I
MARRIAGE, FAMILY	114	222
marriage	-	31
mother,hood	53	70
children	15	-
daughter	-	16
baby	-	22
wives	17	24
lady of house	-	9
sisters	8	7
family	-	13
home	9	-
mother-in-law	-	7
housewife	12	23
LOVE, KINDNESS, GOODNESS	59	129
love	42	45
kindness	10	26
sensitive	-	7
understand	7	-
tolerance	-	7
faith,fulness	-	8
perseverance	-	6
good	-	14
purity	-	9
make perfect	-	7
APPEARANCE, BEAUTY, SMOOTHNESS	112	98
pretty	6	-
beautiful	28	26
elegant	-	18
smoothness	-	32
body	13	-
tall	8	-
pattern	-	22
smile	6	-
breasts	7	-
curve,y	13	-
legs	6	-
old,er	13	-
mature	12	-

BOY

PERCEPTIONS AND EVALUATIONS BY
U. S. AND IRANIAN STUDENT GROUPS

Main Components and Responses	US	I
GIRL, WOMAN	214	13
girl	214	-
woman	-	13
MALE, MAN	158	105
male	49	46
man	71	52
masculine	6	-
sex	13	-
boy	-	7
lad	11	-
guy	8	-
YOUNG, LITTLE	141	38
young	61	-
youth	6	13
-hood	8	-
immaturity	-	7
little	37	-
grow	8	-
mature	7	-
baby	14	18
STRONG, TALL, HANDSOME	81	21
strong	12	-
power	-	14
tall	10	-
body	7	-
beard	-	7
blonde	9	-
black	9	-
blue	9	-
handsome	11	-
cute	7	-
pants	7	-
SPORTS, PLAY	72	25
recreation	-	6
sports	18	-
baseball	8	-
football	7	-
run	7	-
play	20	-
active	6	-
aggressive	-	12
work	-	7
paper	6	-

Main Components	Percentage of Total Score	
	US	I
Girl, Woman	22	2
Male, Man	16	14
Young, Little	15	5
Strong, Tall, Handsome	8	3
Sports, Play	8	3
Friend, Companion	5	5
Human, Me	3	3
Dog, Snake	3	-
Family Members	13	41
Good, Praiseworthy, Superior	1	12
Mean, Cruel	2	6
Miscellaneous	2	5
Total Scores	958	733

	US	I
FRIEND, COMPANION	51	40
friend	51	17
comrade	-	9
companion	-	14
HUMAN, ME	31	23
human	-	23
me	14	-
Tarzan	11	-
Dennis	6	-
DOG, SNAKE	31	-
dog	23	-
snake	8	-

Main Components and Responses	US	I
FAMILY MEMBERS	124	297
me	14	-
marriage	-	15
husband	-	31
father	9	60
mother	-	16
child	49	44
son	22	-
daughter	-	60
brother	30	51
uncle	-	13
man of family	-	7
GOOD, PRAISEWORTHY, SUPERIOR	13	90
superior	-	6
one to praise	-	7
praiseworthy	-	7
goodness	-	15
innocent	6	-
nice	7	-
love	-	34
independence	-	7
more rights	-	7
natural law	-	7
MEAN, CRUEL	21	41
brat	9	-
mean	6	7
rough	6	-
malicious	-	10
cruel	-	12
selfish	-	12
MISCELLANEOUS	21	40
oh boy	6	-
support	-	7
learn	7	-
school	8	-
life	-	12
tip	-	7
someone who	-	-
thinks alike	-	7
I don't know	-	7

Main Components and Responses	US	I
BEAUTIFUL, ELEGANT	62	235
attractiveness	6	-
pretty	33	28
beauty,ful	-	82
cute	8	47
delicateness	-	10
smooth	-	12
soft	7	-
mobile	-	9
elegance	-	35
grace	-	12
smile	8	-
BOY, MAN	202	225
boy	182	115
boyish	6	-
brother	-	14
man	14	17
father	-	13
husband	-	61
MARRIAGE, FAMILY	22	125
marriage	-	37
bride	-	7
housewife	-	7
mother	9	49
daughter	6	-
sister	7	20
family	-	5
FRIENDSHIP, LOVE	96	109
friend,ship	59	13
desired	-	6
love,able	31	21
affection,kindness	-	34
sympathy	-	7
feeling,with-	6	6
sensitive	-	9
emotional	-	13
YOUNG, LITTLE	80	97
little	20	-
small	-	16
child,my-	16	64
good child	-	17
young	29	-
youth	9	-
jump rope	6	-

GIRL
PERCEPTIONS AND EVALUATIONS BY
U. S. AND IRANIAN STUDENT GROUPS

Main Components	Percentage of Total Score	
	US	I
Female, Woman	20	8
Body, Hair, Legs	17	3
Me, Student, Scout	6	1
Beautiful, Elegant	7	20
Boy, Man	22	20
Marriage, Family	2	11
Friendship, Love	10	10
Young, Little	8	8
Good, Innocent	3	8
Bad, Ugly	-	6
Knowledge, Responsibility	1	2
Miscellaneous	4	4
Total Scores	933	1147

	US	I
GOOD, INNOCENT	26	87
good	6	53
best	6	-
nice	8	-
virgin	6	28
innocence	-	6

	US	I
BAD, UGLY	-	67
bad	-	12
misfortune	-	10
danger	-	6
without aim	-	7
undecisive	-	3
oppressive	-	13
ugly	-	16
KNOWLEDGE, RESPONSIBILITY	13	24
responsibility	-	7
school	7	-
knowledgeable	-	7
wise	-	10
equality	6	-

Main Components and Responses	US	I
FEMALE, WOMAN	185	87
feminine,ity	16	-
female	34	24
woman	64	43
lady	6	7
girl,y	6	7
sex	47	-
opposite sex	-	6
maiden	6	-
womb	6	-
BODY, HAIR, LEGS	157	31
body	6	-
blonde	27	-
hair	22	22
curls	10	-
breasts	22	-
legs	17	-
curve	6	-
figure	8	-
face	6	-
skirt	6	-
dress	15	-
pink	12	-
eyes	-	9
ME, STUDENT, SCOUT	53	14
me, I	19	-
society	-	6
student	-	8
scout	15	-
Friday	7	-
Lisa	6	-
Iris	6	-
MISCELLANEOUS	37	45
park	6	-
needed	6	-
wish	6	13
screw	6	-
honey	6	-
fun	7	-
ouch	-	7
alone	-	7
life,living	-	13
existence	-	6

FRIENDS

PERCEPTIONS AND EVALUATIONS BY U. S. AND IRANIAN STUDENT GROUPS

Main Components and Responses	US	I
LOVE, AFFECTION	131	354
love,rs,ing	100	18
care	10	-
like	7	-
affection	-	7
affectionate	-	46
kindness	-	20
sympathetic	-	15
understanding	8	-
friendship	-	14
relationship	-	6
thinking alike	-	28
feelings	6	-
PEOPLE	120	27
people	33	-
women	14	-
girls	12	-
classmate	-	7
(names of)	36	-
group,ings	10	-
men	15	-
boy	-	10
consultant	-	7
HAPPINESS, ENJOYMENT	108	57
happiness	29	-
enthusiasm	-	13
smile	6	-
security	8	-
hope	-	9
fun	21	-
enjoy,ment	24	-
party	6	-
talk	14	18
circulation	-	10
memories	-	7
GOOD, CLOSE	87	58
good	39	21
best	9	-
close,ness	17	16
intimate	-	7
lasting	12	-
old	10	-
near	-	7
known	-	7

Main Components	Percentage of Total Score	
	US	I
Love, Affection	17	15
People	15	2
Happiness, Enjoyment	14	6
Good, Close	11	6
Enemies	11	5
Need, Want	5	2
Many, Few	5	1
Comrade, Companion, Partner	6	36
Family	4	9
Trust, Sincerity	4	8
Help, Sharing	6	7
Miscellaneous	2	3
Total Scores	788	1033

	US	I
ENEMIES	85	57
enemies	77	26
hurt	8	-
cowardliness	-	6
cheat	-	7
bad	-	10
sad	-	8

	US	I
NEED, WANT	43	21
need,ed	24	21
important	9	-
want	10	-
MANY, FEW	41	8
many, a lot	15	-
bunch	6	-
few	20	-
rare	-	8

Main Components and Responses	US	I
COMRADE, COMPANION, PARTNER	47	371
comrade	-	135
companion	23	78
companion in the way	-	27
neighbors	12	-
pals	12	-
collaborator	-	28
mate, partner	-	96
opposite of enemy	-	7
FAMILY	30	96
family	14	-
father	-	18
mother	-	9
husband	-	15
daughter	-	12
sister	-	6
brother	9	26
home	7	-
TRUST, SINCERITY	29	77
fidelity	-	8
faithful,ness	-	7
trust	23	7
sincerity	-	29
honesty	6	-
truthful	-	18
confident	-	8
HELP, SHARING	49	76
help	23	20
assistance	-	21
supporter	-	12
sacrifice	-	7
sharing	11	16
together	15	-
MISCELLANEOUS	18	34
Led Zeppelin	8	-
animals	6	-
school	6	-
life	-	12
existence	-	7
lesson	-	7
book	-	8

Main Components and Responses	US	I
WAR, FIGHTING	221	223
war	113	111
WW II	8	-
attack	7	-
confront	-	7
trouble	-	7
fighting	71	29
competition/er	-	39
campaign	-	14
force	8	-
weapons	-	9
guns	8	-
shoot	6	-
shield	-	7
HATRED, FEAR	126	122
hatred	79	15
enmity	-	38
selfish	-	9
angry	4	-
unfriendly	-	7
disagreement	-	14
dislike	19	-
quarrelsome	-	7
argument	-	10
fear	17	8
hide	7	-
animosity, revenge	-	14
FOE, OPPOSITE	63	110
foe	33	-
opposition(ite)	15	9
against	15	-
enemy,s	-	80
bad friends	-	7
contrast	-	7
constancy	-	7
BAD, MEAN	117	108
bad,ness	45	26
evil	36	-
mean,ness	23	35
stupid	-	9
selfishness	-	9
treachery	-	8
ignorance	-	14
silent	6	-
black	-	7
sick,ness	7	-

ENEMY

PERCEPTIONS AND EVALUATIONS BY U. S. AND IRANIAN STUDENT GROUPS

Main Components	Percentage of Total Score	
	US	I
Killing, Destruction	14	5
Russia, Germany	13	1
Friend, Ally	12	9
War, Fighting	24	28
Hatred, Fear	14	16
Foe, Opposite	7	14
Bad, Mean	13	14
Successful, Win	1	5
Society, People	1	4
Miscellaneous	2	5
Total Scores	917	787

	US	I
SUCCESSFUL, WIN	7	42
successful	-	15
win	7	-
greatness	-	10
freedom	-	7
knowledgeable	-	10
SOCIETY, PEOPLE	8	33
society	-	5
race	-	7
human	-	7
man	-	7
person	8	-
stranger	-	7

Main Components and Responses	US	I
KILLING, DESTRUCTION	124	40
death, die	6	-
destroy	21	9
defeat	9	9
loser	12	-
hurt	28	-
murderer	-	10
kill,ing,er	48	-
blond	-	12
RUSSIA, GERMANY	120	7
Russia,ns	43	-
communism	21	-
Arabs	9	-
Germany	21	-
Jaoan	14	-
Vietnam	12	-
against gov't	-	7
FRIEND, ALLY	110	70
friend	71	70
neighbor	8	-
ally	15	-
help	7	-
love	9	-
MISCELLANEOUS	21	37
why	9	-
absence	-	7
none	12	-
money	-	8
	-	22

Main Components and Responses	US	I
BANK, COMPANY	124	-
bank	82	-
Suburban company monopoly	19	-
	12	-
	11	-
LOVE, FRIENDSHIP	106	79
love	30	8
friendship	-	29
care	19	-
desire	6	-
feeling	12	7
respect	9	-
give	6	-
secure	6	-
together	9	-
depend	9	-
learn	-	13
work	-	8
help	-	7
borrow	-	7
MONEY, FUNDS	79	-
money	25	-
fund	34	-
savings	10	-
loan	10	-
DECEIT, DISTRUST	30	7
deceive	6	-
bad soul	-	7
distrust	6	-
mistrust	6	-
anti	6	-
busler	6	-
GOD	21	9
God	21	9

TRUST

PERCEPTIONS AND EVALUATIONS BY U. S. AND IRANIAN STUDENT GROUPS

Main Components	Percentage of Total Score	
	US	I
Bank, Company	15	-
Love, Friendship	13	12
Money, Funds	9	-
Deceit, Distrust	4	1
God	2	1
Belief, Faith, Confidence	22	39
Family, Friends	22	28
Good, Correct	6	7
Truth, Honesty	4	7
Miscellaneous	2	4
Total Scores	838	652

	US	I
TRUTH, HONESTY	37	45
truth	-	26
honesty	20	12
kind	6	-
worthy	11	-
will power	-	7
MISCELLANEOUS	19	27
knowledge	7	-
oue	6	-
relief	6	-
vote	-	7
poll	-	6
life	-	7
independent	-	7

Main Components and Responses	US	I
BELIEF, FAITH, CONFIDENCE	182	253
believe	32	13
belief	15	41
faith, have-	62	49
accept someone,	-	16
acceptance	-	16
blind	12	-
mutual under-	-	17
standing	-	17
confidence	14	95
confident	7	7
secret	11	-
true	7	-
loyal	22	8
obedient	-	7
FAMILY, FRIENDS	188	184
family	14	-
parents	17	-
father	-	38
mother	-	20
brother	-	9
sister	-	7
lineage	-	3
husband	-	7
people	26	22
self	-	10
me, in-	19	-
you	11	-
friends	95	38
woman	-	7
man	6	7
boy	-	7
companion	-	9
GOOD, CORRECT	52	48
good	19	-
correct, ness	-	34
necessity	6	-
aim	-	7
hope	27	-
optimism	-	7

Main Components
and Responses US I

FAITHFULNESS, LOYALTY	138	130
faithfulness	43	37
loyalty	46	-
faith	-	46
trust, confidence	23	-
true	26	7
vow	-	22
committed	-	18

HONESTY, TRUTH	128	61
honesty	36	-
truth	35	45
purity	29	7
clean	6	9
good	13	-
grand	9	-

STEREO, SOUND	122	-
song	9	-
stereo	35	-
high	40	-
records	8	-
sound	20	-
quality	11	-

INFIDELITY	60	24
adultery	12	-
cheat	8	-
infidelity	16	-
treachery	-	24
none	10	-
unknown	14	-

FIDELITY

PERCEPTIONS AND EVALUATIONS BY
U. S. AND IRANIAN STUDENT GROUPS

Main Components	Percentage of Total Score	
	US	I
Faithfulness, Loyalty	22	15
Honesty, Truth	20	7
Stereo, Sound	19	-
Infidelity	10	3
Love, Friendship, Kindness	9	40
Family, People	8	18
Sacrifice, Help	1	7
Dog	-	7
Miscellaneous	10	3
Total Scores	626	862

	US	I
MISCELLANEOUS	65	27
future	7	-
time	7	-
Castro	9	-
bank	9	-
insurance	8	-
angel	7	-
old	8	-
open	10	-
life	-	12
resistance	-	15

Main Components
and Responses US I

LOVE, FRIENDSHIP, KINDNESS	59	243
love	17	92
lovable	-	13
caring	7	-
attachment	-	10
brotherhood	-	7
friendship	8	121
kindness	-	68
recognize	-	7
handshake	8	-
harmony	10	-
sameness	-	18
closeness	-	7
togetherness	9	-

FAMILY, PEOPLE	50	159
marriage	38	13
husband/wife	-	21
parents	6	-
mother	-	15
wife	6	-
son	-	7
father	-	12
women, girl	-	39
humanity	-	14
people	-	7
human	-	7
man	-	17
fellowman	-	7

SACRIFICE, HELP	4	60
sacrifice	-	36
help	-	17
strength	4	-
responsibility	-	7

DOG	-	58
dog	-	51
animal	-	7

307

306

Main Components and Responses	US	I
TOGETHERNESS, UNITY	221	43
ties	7	-
unity	81	10
union	21	-
togetherness	78	7
nearness	-	14
oneness	8	12
closeness	8	-
strong	18	-
PEOPLE, MAN	213	7
people	21	-
man	119	-
everyone	11	-
group	12	-
organizations	7	-
world	8	-
city	7	-
American	13	-
society	-	7
Mafia	15	-
FAMILY	110	72
family	-	14
father	20	10
mother, hood	8	7
sister, hood	61	-
brothers, my-	21	-
sisters&brothers	-	7
blood, from same-	-	34
RACE: BLACK, WHITE	107	-
racas	21	-
white	22	-
black	64	-
RELIGION	51	12
religions	14	-
priests	8	-
Christian	20	-
monks	9	-
Islam	-	12

BROTHERHOOD

PERCEPTIONS AND EVALUATIONS BY U. S. AND IRANIAN STUDENT GROUPS

Main Components	Percentage of Total Score	
	US	I
Togetherness, Unity	21	5
People, Man	20	1
Family	10	8
Race: Black, White	10	-
Religion	5	1
Love, Friendship	18	39
Equality	-	18
Justice, Peace	6	13
Cooperation, Help	6	11
Miscellaneous	2	3
Total Scores	1043	850

Main Components and Responses	US	I
LOVE, FRIENDSHIP	190	330
love	67	22
friendship	40	131
brotherhood	-	21
friendly	-	7
caring	19	-
kindness	-	36
cordiality	-	12
sincerity	-	12
trust	8	-
fraternity	35	-
handshake	13	-
sympathy, ize	-	18
understanding	8	14
companionship	-	50
accompaniment	-	7
EQUALITY	-	155
equality	-	155
JUSTICE, PEACE	64	114
goals	7	-
justice	-	13
conquest	-	7
peace	19	12
hope	8	-
purity	-	34
correctness	-	16
goodness	-	10
truth	-	16
good	13	6
needed	11	-
necessary	6	-
COOPERATION, HELP	65	94
cooperation	11	15
partnership	-	8
work	11	-
sharing	15	-
giving	7	-
correlation	-	18
assistance	-	21
help, ing	21	7
of same principle	-	7
mutual thinking	-	18
MISCELLANEOUS	22	23
hate	8	-
dislike	-	16
live	8	-
cause	6	-
I don't know	-	7

Main Components
and Responses

	US	I
EMERGENCY, RESCUE	149	14
emergency	10	-
trouble	13	-
danger	6	-
hurt	8	-
drown	7	-
fire	22	-
murder	8	-
rape	8	-
rescue	15	-
save	14	7
hot line	9	-
center	29	-
hospital	-	7

NEED, WANT	142	62
need,ed	90	37
want	38	-
seeking help	-	7
poor,poverty	-	18
alone	6	-
drunk	8	-

PEOPLE, FAMILY, OTHERS	117	102
woman	7	-
man,hood	6	24
someone	9	-
people	20	-
yourself	10	-
others	18	-
parents	6	-
family	-	14
husband	-	7
brother	-	9
society	-	8
world	7	-
fellow creature	-	13
nurse	-	10
police	24	-
companion of the way	-	17

HELP

PERCEPTIONS AND EVALUATIONS BY
U. S. AND IRANIAN STUDENT GROUPS

Main Components	Percentage of Total Score	
	US	I
Emergency, Rescue	17	2
Need, Want	16	9
People, Family, Others	14	14
Scream, Plead	12	-
Me	9	-
Beattles	8	-
Aid, Assist	17	50
Friendship, Love	4	18
Good, Desirable	2	3
Miscellaneous	1	4
Total Scores	866	719

	US	I
SCREAM, PLEAD	106	-
ask	6	-
scream	25	-
cry	20	-
plead	8	-
yell	6	-
please	24	-
telephone	17	-
ME	75	-
me	75	-
BEATTLES	65	-
Beattles	45	-
song	8	-
movie	12	-

Main Components
and Responses

AID, ASSIST	145	365
aid,mutual-	64	10
help	-	14
assist,ance,	-	-
mutua;-	24	102
close assistance	-	125
charity	9	-
volunteer	7	-
give, offer	17	-
hand	7	8
help out	17	-
philanthropic	-	7
cooperation	-	73
support	-	7
try	-	7
progress	-	12

FRIENDSHIP, LOVE	37	132
friend,ship	9	85
love	14	-
care	14	-
kindness	-	21
sympathy	-	12
thinking alike	-	7
closeness	-	7

GOOD, DESIRABLE	23	24
good,ness	10	24
desirable	7	-
God	6	-

MISCELLANEOUS	7	24
apathy	7	-
money	-	7
clothing	-	7
equality	-	10

Main Components
and Responses

	US	I
PEOPLE, ELDERS, TEACHERS	183	118
people	34	-
others	27	-
person	10	-
individual	12	-
elders	46	51
older people	20	-
adults	7	-
of great	-	18
president	27	-
society	-	29
teacher	-	14
professor	-	14

LOVE, FRIENDSHIP	152	127
care	11	-
love, lovable	34	26
admire	45	-
friend,ship	19	43
girlfriend	6	-
boyfriend	9	-
worship	-	10
cherish	6	-
respectful	-	26
appreciation	9	-
kindness	-	13
trust	13	-
closeness	-	9

HONOR, GREATNESS	120	116
honor	35	14
esteem	11	7
greatness	-	45
reputation	6	-
deserved	10	-
worthy	8	-
gain	12	-
sincerity	9	-
honesty	6	-
respect	-	20
respect & honor	-	30

RESPECT

PERCEPTIONS AND EVALUATIONS BY
U. S. AND IRANIAN STUDENT GROUPS

Main Components	Percentage of Total Scores	
	US	I
People, Elders, Teachers	21	13
Love, Friendship	18	14
Honor, Greatness	14	13
Authority, Law	8	4
Self	7	-
Knowledge, Training	6	3
Family, Parents	14	24
Behavior, Manners	2	12
Tradition, Morality	6	7
Money	-	6
Miscellaneous	4	4
Total Scores	853	902

	US	I
AUTHORITY, LAW	68	37
authority	28	-
discipline	6	-
law	10	-
power	9	-
position	15	29
leader	-	8
SELF	58	-
self	25	-
me, myself	13	-
yourself	20	-

	US	I
KNOWLEDGE, TRAINING	49	31
knowledge	11	-
experience	8	-
training	-	14
belief	18	-
intelligent	12	10
capability	-	7

Main Components
and Responses

FAMILY, PARENTS	122	216
family	-	43
father	39	70
mother	30	42
parents	53	10
father & mother	-	8
grandfather	-	7
grandmother	-	5
ancestors	-	7
relatives	-	24

BEHAVIOR, MANNERS	16	108
behavior	-	22
manners	9	-
polite,ness	7	33
conduct	-	10
personality & conduct	-	43

TRADITION, MORALITY	51	65
traditions	-	28
morality	-	13
religion	-	7
God	6	-
duty	-	7
value	9	-
necessary	-	10
good, ness	15	28
desired	12	-
importance	9	-

MONEY	-	51
money	-	51

MISCELLANEOUS	34	33
right	13	-
nature	6	-
low	-	7
brave	6	-
life	9	-
country	-	7
nation	-	12
fear	-	7

Main Components and Responses	US	I
GOOD, RIGHT, HELPFUL	130	37
good, ness	43	32
best	32	-
important	6	-
right	11	-
correct	6	-
necessary	6	-
helpful	13	-
desirable	7	-
golden	6	-
success	-	5
LIE, CHEAT, STEAL	94	26
lies, telling	41	8
steal	10	-
deceit	10	-
hypocrisy	-	7
double dealing	-	4
treachery	-	7
cheat	12	-
hurt	15	-
hard	6	-
MORALITY, RELIGION	86	49
morality	11	-
belief	7	-
values	18	-
policy	43	-
pious man, believer	-	10
conscience	-	22
religion	-	10
God	7	-
consciousness	-	7
PEOPLE	28	24
people	9	-
human, ity	-	7
girl	6	-
society	-	4
father	-	7
mother	-	6
me, I	13	-
HONOR, PRIDE	26	17
honor	-	6
pride, proud	11	-
nobility	-	6
generosity	-	5
virtue	7	-
trait	8	-

HONESTY
PERCEPTIONS AND EVALUATIONS BY
U. S. AND IRANIAN STUDENT GROUPS

Main Components	Percentage of Total Score	
	US	I
Good, Right, Helpful	19	22
Lie, Cheat, Steal	12	3
Morality, Religion	11	6
People	4	3
Honor Pride	3	2
Truth	19	22
Sincerity, Frankness	16	25
Love, Friendship, Faithfulness	14	18
Pure, Clean	4	11
Miscellaneous	2	5
Total Scores	795	845

Main Components and Responses	US	I
TRUTH	150	195
truth, fulness	150	189
knowledge	-	6
SINCERITY, FRANKNESS	124	213
sincerity	40	36
frankness	23	-
honesty	-	40
integrity	30	127
openness	31	-
innocent, simplicity	-	10
LOVE, FRIENDSHIP, FAITHFULNESS	109	155
love	29	10
caring	7	-
friendship	14	63
true friend	-	28
kind, ness	-	13
faith, fulness	33	26
closeness in friendship	-	15
loyalty	19	-
respect	7	-
PURE, CLEAN	33	92
pure, ity	16	92
cleanliness	8	-
sweetness	9	-
MISCELLANEOUS	15	42
quality	9	-
give	6	-
work	-	6
power	-	9
comfort, ease	-	6
easy	-	6
life	-	7
salvation	-	8

Main Components
and Responses

US I

HUMAN BEINGS, EVERYONE	204	202
people	-	13
all	20	-
everyone	20	-
population	7	38
me	7	-
person, s	12	8
individuals	-	23
humans, being	22	64
public	16	-
folks	13	-
family	11	14
children	6	-
neighbors	13	-
woman	-	16
males	6	-
men	6	17
Barbra Streisand	6	-
colleagues	-	9
roommate	7	-
them	6	-
us	15	-
we	11	-

LOVE, FRIENDSHIP	189	82
love,rs	45	-
need	18	-
want	10	-
friend,ship	41	26
brotherhood	-	6
amiable	-	7
good	19	18
like	6	-
fun	7	-
funny	7	-
smile	10	-
gay	8	-
helpful	12	-
relation	-	7
together	-	8
unity	-	10
alike	6	-

CROWDS, MASSES	140	69
crowds,ed	53	14
mass,es	28	30
many	20	-
lots	9	-
millions	6	-
group	24	18
gathering	-	7

PEOPLE

PERCEPTIONS AND EVALUATIONS BY
U. S. AND IRANIAN STUDENT GROUPS

Main Components	Percentage of Total Score	
	US	I
Human Beings, Everyone	24	24
Love, Friendship	23	10
Crowds, Masses	17	8
Race, Black, White	6	1
Bad, Stupid	6	6
Society	3	17
Nation, Places	8	15
Live, Work	5	10
Customs, Beliefs, Values	3	8
Miscellaneous	4	3
Total Scores	836	846

	US	I
RACE, BLACK, WHITE	54	7
race	20	7
black	12	-
white	22	-
BAD, STUPID	53	47
bad	11	13
awful	6	-
hurt	7	-
strange	6	-
ugly	7	-
foolishness	-	7
uncultured	-	5
stupid	-	7
thief	-	7
poor	9	-
starving	7	-
problems	-	8

Main Components
and Responses

US I

SOCIETY	22	144
society	22	144
NATION, PLACES	71	127
nation, Iran	-	89
country	6	16
world	7	-
town	6	-
places	12	-
city	-	9
school	7	-
college	6	-
drugstore	18	-
government	9	13
LIVE, WORK	50	84
life, live	27	13
exist	6	-
activity	-	9
work	-	8
cooperation	-	8
communication	-	13
progress	-	8
successful	-	8
power	17	7
coordination	-	10

CUSTOMS, VALUES	23	65
history	-	7
customs	-	10
beliefs	6	-
ideas	-	7
freedom	11	-
law	-	9
hope	6	-
truth	-	7
justice	-	3
govern	-	15
politics	-	7

MISCELLANEOUS	30	25
eater	9	-
machine	6	-
animals	9	7
occasionally	-	9
things	6	-
strike	-	9

Main Components
and Responses

	US	I
HIGH CLASS, SNOBS	111	-
class	32	-
status	-8	-
high,-class	35	-
elite	6	-
snoobs	14	-
party	16	-

LAWS, MORES, RESTRICTIONS	101	31
laws	16	10
morality	6	-
morals	9	-
mores	9	-
norms	9	-
pre-law	6	-
values	9	-
restrictions	12	-
rules	6	-
standards	7	-
order,-in life	-	14
customs	6	7
socialization	6	-

BAD, DESTRUCTIVE	53	13
bad	10	-
ills	6	-
crazy	6	-
kills	12	-
strange	8	-
disturbance	-	6
destructive	-	7
poor	11	-

RICH, WEALTH	43	7
rich	23	-
wealth	9	-
money	11	-
economy	-	7

GOOD, GREAT	43	3
good	8	-
gay	6	-
great	17	-
just	6	-
like	6	-
ideal	-	3

SOCIETY

PERCEPTIONS AND EVALUATIONS BY
U. S. AND IRANIAN STUDENT GROUPS

Main Components	Percentage of Total Score	
	US	I
High Class, Snobs	14	-
Laws, Mores, Restrictions	13	4
Bad, Destructive	7	1
Rich, Wealth	6	1
Good, Great	6	-
People, Individuals	20	34
Group, Gathering	7	26
Society, Culture	9	17
Country, Town, Community	8	7
Goals, Cooperation, Progress	4	7
Miscellaneous	6	4
Total Scores	767	901

GOALS, COOPERATION, PROGRESS	US	I
friendship	32	62
cooperation	-	8
help,ful	13	-
progress	-	18
work	-	5
success	-	10
goal	7	-
programs	6	-
education	6	-
school	-	7
	-	14

MISCELLANEOUS	US	I
big	45	37
large	9	-
need	8	-
behavior	6	-
touchy	-	7
sociology	6	-
room	16	5
contract,agreement	-	15
	-	10

Main Components
and Responses

	US	I
PEOPLE, INDIVIDUALS	158	299
people	122	124
family	11	38
friends	6	-
man	-	13
women	6	16
human	-	20
social	7	10
individual)	-	37
WASP	6	-
population	-	23
civilization	-	9
inhabitants	-	9

GROUP, GATHERING	53	231
group	24	67
gathering	-	76
crowd,ed	7	24
aggregate	6	-
mass	8	6
whole	8	10
come together	-	7
gathering place	-	13
attachment	-	7
closeness	-	12
relation	-	9

SOCIETY, CULTURE	66	153
society	-	121
culture	45	-
life	21	32

COUNTRY, TOWN, COMMUNITY	62	65
country	-	24
world	6	-
environment	-	15
Iran	-	7
city	-	7
towns	8	-
community	17	-
system	19	-
government	6	12
political	6	-

Main Components and Responses	US	I
HIERARCHY, RANK	140	-
hierarchy	25	-
pecking	8	-
position	7	-
rank	26	-
status	20	-
top	12	-
upper	13	-
lower	11	-
poor	18	-
CLASS, CASTE	80	25
class	54	18
caste	11	-
middle class	15	-
bourgeoisie	-	7
MONEY, ECONOMY	69	42
money	22	-
rich	19	-
wealth	10	12
economy	-	22
economic order	-	8
tax	6	-
job	6	-
work	6	-
CONTROL, MANAGEMENT	52	31
control	26	7
power	-	10
command	5	-
chief	-	7
leader	13	-
management	-	7
importance	8	-
DARWINISM, SOCIOLOGY	43	-
Darwinism	9	-
primates	15	-
animals	5	-
sociology	14	-

SOCIAL ORDER

PERCEPTIONS AND EVALUATIONS BY U. S. AND IRANIAN STUDENT GROUPS

Main Components	Percentage of Total Score	
	A	I
Hierarchy, Rank	22	-
Class, Caste	12	3
Money, Economy	10	5
Control, Management	8	4
Darwinism, Sociology	6	-
Laws, Norms, Values	13	27
People, Society	13	24
Government, Politics	9	18
Goal, Equality, Welfare	2	8
Order	2	7
Miscellaneous	3	5
Total Scores	657	894

	US	I
GOAL, EQUALITY, WELFARE	17	70
goal	-	7
model	-	7
dream	-	7
progress	-	8
equality	-	20
friendship	-	14
honesty	-	7
respected	7	-
welfare	10	-
ORDER	11	64
order	11	30
dominant order	-	10
healthy order	-	7
order of thoughts	-	7
social order	-	10

	US	I
MISCELLANEOUS	17	46
appraiser	-	7
relation	-	7
arrangement	-	9
coup d'etat	-	7
church	5	-
life	-	9
deviant	6	-
unfair	6	-
wrong	-	7

Main Components and Responses	US	I
LAWS, NORMS, VALUES	84	244
laws	29	101
regulations	-	14
rules	12	-
norms	29	-
requirement	8	-
necessary	6	-
values	-	18
principles	-	8
justification	-	9
manners	-	8
correctness	-	8
correct relations	-	8
method, special-	-	21
contracts	-	8
foundation	-	23
traditional	-	18
PEOPLE, SOCIETY	87	213
people	10	29
family	8	-
friends	13	-
groups	8	10
organizations	15	-
society	25	71
institution	-	16
system	8	23
human	-	8
civilization	-	9
feudal	-	10
culture	-	23
nation	-	7
Iran	-	7
GOVERNMENT, POLITICS	57	159
government	23	72
president	13	-
governor	-	10
office	-	9
regime, polit.-	-	17
politics	-	13
political society	-	9
socialism	-	8
military service	-	7
Army	-	14
police	21	-

Main Components
and Responses

US I

BODY, SEX	168	-
body	12	-
fetal	10	-
stance	23	-
sitting	30	-
upright	9	-
flexible	6	-
comfortable	9	-
baller	7	-
sex	26	-
missionary	20	-
sixty-nine	16	-

AREA, PLACE	155	45
area	21	-
location	19	-
place	72	-
situation	7	28
space	17	-
where	6	-
residence	-	17
line	9	-
moving	4	-

AUTHORITY, POWER	94	61
authority	10	-
responsibility	-	15
powerful	11	17
influence	-	9
orders	19	-
important	13	-
high	30	-
first	11	-
superior	-	20

SOCIAL, SOCIETY	31	28
social	23	-
society	8	14
people	-	7
societal	-	-
characteristics	-	7

BAD, ABUSE	27	17
bad	8	-
awkward	8	-
abuse	-	10
painful	-	7
low	11	-

POSITION

PERCEPTIONS AND EVALUATIONS BY
U. S. AND IRANIAN STUDENT GROUPS

Main Components	Percentage of Total Score	
	A	I
Body, Sex	22	-
Area, Place	21	5
Authority, Power	12	7
Social, Society	4	3
Bad, Abuse	4	2
Esteem, Dignity, Reputation	-	24
Rank, Status	15	16
Job, Work, Profession	14	14
Leadership, Management	3	12
Money, Wealth	3	12
Miscellaneous	2	4
Total Scores	752	839

US I

MONEY, WEALTH	22	98
money	9	54
wealth	13	44
MISCELLANEOUS	18	30
number	8	-
put	4	-
wish	-	15
education	-	8
achieved	6	-
repeat	-	7

Main Components
and Responses

US I

ESTEEM, DIGNITY, REPUTATION	-	200
greatness	-	21
esteem	-	27
dignity	-	23
respect	-	14
honor	-	7
glory	-	14
goodness	-	12
trust	-	9
characteristic	-	37
reputation	-	36

RANK, STATUS	114	132
rank	28	27
standing	20	-
grade	-	53
status	36	-
level	11	-
hierarchy	8	-
ladder	11	-
position	-	34
promotion	-	18

JOB, WORK, PROFESSION	103	124
job	65	-
office	5	-
work	33	-
worker	-	10
employee	-	6
desk	-	9
career	-	12
profession	-	36
professor	-	10
med. doctor	-	13
minister, y	-	21
deputy	-	7

LEADERSHIP, MANAGEMENT	20	104
leadership	-	22
commandship	-	10
management	-	34
head	4	-
chief	-	16
commander	-	7
manager	-	15
president	4	-
title	12	-

Main Components
and Responses

	US	I
JUSTICE, LAW	216	150
Justice, just	69	111
constitution	22	-
law	13	10
court	6	-
rights	25	-
principle	-	7
freedom	40	10
fairness	35	-
democracy, tic	7	12
nonprejudice	6	-

PEOPLE: MEN AND
WOMEN, BLACKS

	US	I
people	15	12
man	15	7
sex	6	-
women	-	14
all, for-	26	-
brother	-	13
personal	6	-
sister	-	14
social	13	-
races, ial	-	10
Blacks and Whites	-	7
Black,s	68	-
Jews	14	-
America	10	-
society	-	8

PREJUDICE,
DISCRIMINATION

	US	I
racism	6	-
fight	6	-
prejudice	24	-
discrimination	7	14
inequality	17	-
unequal,ty	12	-
joke	6	-
impossible	6	-

MONEY, JOBS

	US	I
money	8	6
salary	-	18
wages	6	-
job	12	-
opportunity	10	-

EQUALITY

PERCEPTIONS AND EVALUATIONS BY
U. S. AND IRANIAN STUDENT GROUPS

Main Components	Percentage of Total Scores	
	US	I
Justice, Law	30	17
People: Men, Women, Blacks	29	10
Prejudice, Discrimination	12	1
Money, Jobs	5	3
Equal, Same	13	43
Brotherhood, Cooperation	6	19
Religion	-	2
Miscellaneous	6	5
Total Scores	728	873

Main Components
and Responses

	US	I
EQUAL, SAME	94	372
equality	41	304
even	9	-
same	37	-
created equal	7	-
similarity	-	68

BROTHERHOOD,
COOPERATION

	US	I
brotherhood	-	57
friendship	-	43
love	8	-
good	12	-
cooperation	-	28
order	-	7
stability	-	7
peace	8	-
one,ness	15	-
together	6	-
indivisible	6	-
connection	-	7
partner	-	9
convergence	-	10

RELIGION

	US	I
religion	-	6
Islam	-	15

MISCELLANEOUS

	US	I
math	17	-
leader,ship	7	-
time	6	-
education	9	-
life	6	10
enjoyment	-	8
bus	-	7
communism	-	14

Main Components and Responses	US	I
SPORTS, COMPETITION	362	-
compet, tion	32	-
sports	14	-
cars	30	-
dog	8	-
speed	12	-
fast	15	-
track	46	-
finish	8	-
flight	6	-
run	74	-
foot	18	-
tortoise	6	-
hare	8	-
horse	22	-
line	9	-
relay	6	-
win, er	48	-
COLOR:		
BLACK, WHITE	340	303
color	97	59
Black, s	111	128
Negro	7	-
White's	87	58
Caucasian	9	-
brown	8	-
red	9	37
yellow	12	7
race	-	14
CREED, RELIGION	89	53
creed	73	-
religion	15	53
MISCELLANEOUS	39	8
equality	9	-
good	6	-
relations	18	-
bleed	6	-
beauty	-	8

RACE

PERCEPTIONS AND EVALUATIONS BY
U. S. AND IRANIAN STUDENT GROUPS

Main Components	Percentage of Total Score	
	A	I
Sports, Competition	37	-
Color: Black, White	35	28
Creed, Religion	9	5
Nationality, Ethnicity	3	15
People, Tribe	3	11
Family, Same Blood	-	11
Problems, Racism, Prejudice	7	8
Aryan	-	8
Superiority, Nobility	-	8
Sex, Man, Woman	-	3
Culture, Language	2	3
Miscellaneous	4	1
Total Scores	981	1081

	US	I
SUPERIORITY, NOBILITY	-	84
superior, ity	-	29
noble	-	37
privilege	-	18
SEX, MAN, WOMAN	-	36
sex	-	13
man	-	10
woman	-	13
CULTURE, LANGUAGE	21	31
culture	7	-
civilization law	-	7
language	-	14
ethnology	-	10
origin	8	-
background	6	-

Main Components and Responses	US	I
NATIONALITY, ETHNICITY	30	161
nation, ality	10	16
oriental	-	7
American, U.S.	-	20
Asiatic	-	52
Chinese	6	-
Indian	7	29
ethnic	7	-
Africa, S.	-	30
Slavic	-	7
PEOPLE, TRIBE	34	122
people	22	-
human, -beings	-	29
group	6	-
tribe	-	22
sect	-	14
foreigner	-	7
class	6	-
kind	-	7
Jewish	-	22
Hitler	-	21
FAMILY, SAME BLOOD	-	116
family	-	25
family	-	17
father	-	8
related	-	7
blood, same	-	26
gene	-	30
PROBLEMS: RACISM, PREJUDICE	67	94
problems	7	-
racism, t	-	13
conflict	8	-
discrimination	8	36
prejudice	24	-
fight	7	-
war	-	12
issue	6	-
division	-	7
difference	7	14
Nazism	-	7
ARYAN	-	84
Arya	-	32
Aryan	-	46
Germanic	-	6

Main Components and Responses	US	I
GOVERNMENT, PRESIDENT	132	34
government	54	-
monarchy	-	8
president	26	-
despotism	-	9
king, dom	8	-
Congress	6	-
ruler	10	-
sovereignty	-	7
Machievelli	-	7
official	7	-
dictator, ship	9	-
Nazi	6	-
system	6	-
LAW, RULE, GOVERN	102	79
law	50	-
rule	22	-
rules	6	-
right	12	-
obey, obedient	6	-
respect	-	6
listen	6	-
govern	-	49
inspection	-	24
PARENTS, PEOPLE	80	13
parents	32	-
father	19	-
mother	14	-
people	-	6
man	6	7
me	9	-
BOSS, LEADER	78	7
boss	20	-
leader, ship	32	7
head	7	-
figure	19	-
KNOWLEDGE, ABILITY	76	51
school	14	-
dean	8	-
teacher	20	-
expert	6	-
know, ledge	28	-
ability	-	39
proficiency	-	12

AUTHORITY

PERCEPTIONS AND EVALUATIONS BY
U. S. AND IRANIAN STUDENT GROUPS

Main Components	Percentage of Total Score	
	A	I
Government, President	16	6
Law, Rule, Govern	13	13
Parents, People	10	2
Boss, Leader	10	1
Knowledge, Ability	10	8
Police, Judge	8	-
Position: Top	7	3
Bad, Hate	3	2
Power, Control, Responsibility	15	58
Freedom, Success	1	6
Miscellaneous	8	-
Total Scores	800	597

	US	I
POLICE, JUDGE	66	-
police	57	-
judge	9	-
POSITION: TOP	54	17
position	18	-
rank	7	-
top	6	-
above	9	-
upper	8	-
over	6	-
superiority	-	17
BAD, HATE	25	12
bad	11	-
fear	-	7
hate	8	-
selfishness	-	5
rebellion	6	-

Main Components and Responses	US	I
POWER, CONTROL, RESPONSIBILITY	121	346
power, -play, -ful	66	188
strength	10	-
force	-	59
control	13	-
greatness	-	7
influence	-	21
strict	8	-
responsibility	11	-
big	6	-
money	-	15
wealth	-	13
establishment	7	-
compulsion	-	9
exention	-	34
FREEDOM, SUCCESS	6	38
necessary	6	-
freedom	-	10
success	-	7
glory	-	9
grandeur	-	12
MISCELLANEOUS	60	-
god	10	-
old	6	-
job	8	-
hand	6	-
conditional	6	-
solice	6	-
pounds	6	-
Port	12	-

Main Components and Responses	US	I
COMMUNISM, MARXISM	235	51
communism	112	16
red	15	-
Marx,ism	58	16
capitalism	50	10
imperialism	-	9
MONEY, ECONOMICS	66	-
money	17	-
economics	18	-
economy	16	-
medicine	15	-
GOOD, GOAL	62	19
good	33	-
ideal	6	-
great	6	-
want	10	-
aim	-	12
goal	7	-
hope	-	7
WORK, COOPERATION	53	35
work,er	7	-
commune	6	-
cooperation	-	10
participation	-	18
achievement	-	7
sharing	34	-
kibbutz	6	-
BAD, CHAOS	51	42
bad	25	-
grim	6	-
trouble	6	-
mistake	-	7
contradiction	-	8
revolution	14	-
chaos	-	12
disappearance	-	8
egoistic	-	7
EQUALITY, FREEDOM	30	17
equality,-opport.	24	10
freedom	6	-
law	-	7

SOCIALISM

PERCEPTIONS AND EVALUATIONS BY
U. S. AND IRANIAN STUDENT GROUPS

Main Components	Percentage of Total Score	
	US	I
Communism, Marxism	31	9
Money, Economics	9	-
Good, Goal	8	3
Work, Cooperation	7	6
Bad, Chaos	7	7
Equality, Freedom	4	3
Society, People	6	37
Government, Politics	13	18
Countries, Russia, China	9	10
Miscellaneous	6	6
Total Scores	762	589

Main Components and Responses	US	I
SOCIETY, PEOPLE	49	220
society	10	93
people	20	46
all	6	-
classes	6	-
community	7	-
group	-	13
gathering	-	14
human being	-	5
socializing	-	7
social	-	14
social inclinations	-	7
people inclined, directed	-	21
GOVERNMENT, POLITICS	102	107
government	63	49
state	6	17
system	15	8
regime	-	6
power	9	-
politics	9	20
parties, political	-	7
COUNTRIES, RUSSIA, CHINA	66	61
nation	-	10
country	6	20
U.S.	7	-
Iran	-	7
Russia, USSR	40	24
China	13	-
MISCELLANEOUS	48	37
young	6	-
unknown	9	-
theory	6	7
idea	6	-
police	6	-
foreign	9	-
decision	6	-
thoughts	-	9
university	-	6
start	-	7
I don't know	-	8

Main Components
and Responses

US I

CORRUPTION, TRICKS, LIES	161	108
corruption	60	-
crooked	11	-
injustice	-	8
tricks	-	31
dirty	28	-
cheat,ing	10	-
sham	6	-
two-faced	-	12
lie	-	27
Watergate	16	-
evil	8	-
bad	10	-
miser	-	12
stay out	6	-
don't	6	-
punishment	-	18

GOVERNMENT, DEMOCRACY	160	55
government	131	-
regime	-	8
democracy,tic	10	17
political	-	22
Congress	10	-
Senate	9	-
Nat'l Assembly	-	8

PRESIDENTS, POLITICIANS	103	135
president	24	7
politicians	23	42
ministers, prime	-	12
governor	14	-
Senator	9	-
kings	-	39
Nixon	33	-
Aristotle	-	6
Churchill	-	17
great politician	-	12

RIGHTS, FREEDOM, LAW	41	51
freedom	-	16
peace	-	7
rights	-	9
law	24	12
lawful	-	7
lawyer	7	-
good	10	-

POLITICS

PERCEPTIONS AND EVALUATIONS BY
U. S. AND IRANIAN STUDENT GROUPS

Main Components	Percentage of Total Score	
	US	I
Corruption, Tricks, Lies	21	11
Government, Democracy	21	5
Presidents, Politicians	13	13
Elections, Campaign	13	-
Rights, Freedom, Law	5	5
Countries, People	10	24
Leadership, Power	2	16
Method, Plan	8	10
Religion, Morality	1	6
Prudent, Witty	-	4
War, Economics	2	4
Miscellaneous	3	1
Total Scores	771	1007

	US	I
ELECTIONS, CAMPAIGN	98	-
elections	39	-
campaign	9	-
candidate	6	-
convention	6	-
Political parties	10	-
Democrat	18	-
Republican	10	-
PRUDENT, WITTY	-	44
expedient,prudent	-	14
thought	-	7
ingenuity	-	10
witty	-	13

	US	I
WAR, ECONOMICS	19	38
complicated	6	-
war	-	7
economics	-	24
money	13	-
monetary	-	7
MISCELLANEOUS	24	14
here	6	-
black	6	-
color	-	7
interesting	6	-
life	-	7
degree	6	-

Main Components
and Responses

US I

COUNTRIES, PEOPLE	77	240
country	-	44
society	-	44
world	-	10
state	12	41
universal	-	12
local	9	-
America, U.S.	6	-
Washington, D.C.	6	-
England	-	20
Iran	-	26
people	26	-
citizen	6	-
men	6	24
social	6	-
student	-	9
political	-	-
scientist	-	10

LEADERSHIP, POWER	20	155
leader,ship	-	16
power, strength	20	37
rule	-	36
manage,ment	-	22
governing the	-	-
country	-	7
order	-	7
commandment	-	13
boss	-	6
director	-	9
capacity of	-	-
managing a country-	-	7

METHOD, PLAN	60	105
ways, means	9	-
diplomacy	-	8
talk	6	-
deal,ing	8	-
play,ing	6	12
game	25	-
theory	6	-
method	-	31
technique	-	8
policy plan	-	26
method of gov't	-	7
behavior	-	6
pursue	-	7

RELIGION, MORALITY	8	62
religion	8	35
moral	-	14
allocation of	-	-
values	-	13

Main Components
and Responses

POLITICS, PRESIDENT,
GOVERNOR

	US	I
politics	105	42
party	-	9
leader, ship	15	75
commander	-	5
president	44	7
Ford	6	-
Nixon	28	-
Shah	-	28
king	-	23
ministers	-	10
governor	-	52
parliament	-	6
Nat'l Assembly	-	9
Congress	13	-
Senate	8	-
senators	19	-
cabinet	-	10

COUNTRY, U.S.

	US	I
U.S.	61	-
land	-	7
national	-	23
country	-	42
state	24	-
local	10	-
American	13	-
capital	7	-
D.C., Washington	20	-
federal	11	-
regime	-	6
place of	-	-
commandment	-	5

PEOPLE, SOCIETY

	US	I
people	41	21
man, men	16	-
society	6	23
humanistic	-	7
social	6	-

CORRUPTION

	US	I
corruption	43	-
crooked	7	-
Watergate	9	-
dictatorship	-	17
despotism	-	13

GOVERNMENT

PERCEPTIONS AND EVALUATIONS BY
U. S. AND IRANIAN STUDENT GROUPS

Main Components	Percentage of Total Score	
	US	I
Politics, President, Governor	28	26
Country, U.S.	17	8
People, Society	8	5
Corruption	7	-
Money, Taxes	5	-
Democracy, Republic, Minority	7	20
Authority, Rule, Power	11	18
Law, Rights	9	11
Government, Bureaucracy	5	10
Miscellaneous	3	3
Total Scores	864	1071

	US	I
MONEY, TAXES	41	-
taxes	13	-
money	14	-
pay	6	-
spending	8	-

	US	I
MISCELLANEOUS	30	35
170	6	-
statistics	6	-
office	9	-
history	9	-
revolution	-	10
jungle	-	6
condome	-	3
idea	-	7
wealth	-	9

Main Components
and Responses

DEMOCRACY, REPUBLIC,
MONARCHY

	US	I
democracy, etc	53	73
republic, an	-	72
monarchy	-	24
communism	7	7
anarchy	-	7

AUTHORITY,
RULE, POWER

	US	I
authority	7	14
sovereignty	-	23
control	6	-
gov't order	-	5
rule, ing	22	-
commandment	-	16
responsibility	-	7
governing	-	7
policy	18	-
force	-	20
power	34	30
greatness	-	7
big	12	-
pressure	-	8
influence	-	15
manage	-	22
army order	-	15

LAW, RIGHTS

	US	I
law	36	64
constitution	9	-
constit. gov't.	-	14
justice	20	-
regulation	-	16
vote	10	-
freedom	-	10
comfortability	-	7
hope	-	10

GOVERNMENT,
BUREAUCRACY

	US	I
government	-	89
system	6	7
bureaucracy	8	-
structure	10	-
board	-	7
agency	9	-
gody	6	-
work	8	-

Main Components and Responses	US	I
POWER, AUTHORITY	160	112
power	35	17
strong	21	-
strength	11	-
control	14	13
charge	7	-
authority	17	-
duty	7	-
responsibility	31	20
order	4	50
commandment	-	12
prestige	7	-
fame	6	-
PRESIDENT, GOVERNMENT	123	40
president	89	10
king	8	-
government	16	-
U.S.	4	-
bureaucracy	-	9
vote	6	-
politics	-	21
QUALITIES, AGGRESSIVE, CONFIDENT	116	28
quality	63	-
demanding	4	-
aggressive	10	8
initiative	5	-
confident	8	-
firm	-	7
honest	6	-
independent	7	-
ambitious	-	8
friendly	6	-
respected	7	-
behavior	-	5
sympathy	-	8
national character	-	7
ABILITY, INTELLIGENCE	103	8
ability	24	-
skills	24	-
training	12	-
intelligent	4	-
smart	27	-
prudence	-	8
scholarship	12	-

LEADERSHIP PERCEPTIONS AND EVALUATIONS BY U. S. AND IRANIAN STUDENT GROUPS

Main Components	Percentage of Total Score	
	US	I
Power, Authority	18	11
President, Government	14	4
Qualities, Aggressive, Confident	13	3
Ability, Intelligence	12	1
People, Humanity	10	7
Good, Necessary	6	2
Management, Guidance	9	30
Head, Chief, Leader	13	19
Industry, Workers	-	12
School, Field of Study	3	6
Miscellaneous	2	5
Total Scores	890	1,004

	US	I
PEOPLE, HUMANITY	92	71
people	6	-
men	10	-
society	7	14
me	16	-
myself	11	-
humanity	-	57
parent	4	-
groups	8	-
follower	30	-
GOOD, NECESSARY	51	21
good	20	14
desired	12	-
necessary	10	-
needed	9	-
correct	-	7

	US	I
SCHOOL, FIELD OF STUDY	25	64
school	9	10
university	-	8
field	-	26
field of study	-	7
lesson	-	13
teacher	16	-
MISCELLANEOUS	22	50
rich	6	-
home	-	7
welfare	-	8
hard	8	-
clubs	8	-
penmanship	-	7
desk	-	7
shallow	-	14
weakness	-	7

Main Components and Responses	US	I
MANAGEMENT, GUIDANCE	78	299
management	-	187
manager	-	18
coordination	-	12
efficiency	-	23
organize	10	18
decisions	15	-
administration	-	8
negotiations	4	-
arrangement	-	8
doer	6	-
guidance	12	12
help,er	31	-
cooperation	-	6
services	-	7
HEAD, CHIEF, LEADER	120	188
head	54	-
chief	-	59
boss	8	-
chairman	8	-
coach	5	-
officer	7	-
general	6	-
hold office	-	39
leadership	13	62
superior	-	7
top	4	-
position	15	-
guardian	-	21
INDUSTRY, WORKERS	-	123
industry	-	7
technology	-	7
commerce	-	9
business occupation	-	8
economy	-	8
factory	-	20
employee	-	10
workers	-	10
work	-	17
employer	-	7
manage a job	-	7
budget	-	5
money	-	8

Main Components
and Responses

US I

KING, QUEEN	532	172
king	219	78
queen	202	15
king of kings	-	10
czars	5	-

WEALTH, MONEY	170	14
wealth	25	7
rich	70	-
money	42	-
gold	8	-
jewels	19	-
diamonds	6	-
comfortability	-	7

CROWN, CASTLE, THRONE	152	10
crown	28	10
castles	30	-
palace	26	-
moat	5	-
throne	29	-
sceptor	2	-
clothes	3	-
purple	11	-
blue	4	-
red	14	-

MINISTERS, DUKES	78	52
prime minister	-	23
dukes	25	-
duchess	13	-
court	5	-
earls	7	-
guards	6	-
knight	12	-
jester	8	-
servant	2	-
people	-	29

HIGH CLASS, NOBILITY	59	21
class	9	-
high class	10	-
majesty	13	-
nobleness	15	-
greatness	-	7
title	-	7
position	-	7
above	4	-
high	8	-

ROYALTY

PERCEPTIONS AND EVALUATIONS BY
U. S. AND IRANIAN STUDENT GROUPS

Main Components	Percentage of Total Score	
	US	I
King, Queen	44	18
Wealth, Money	14	1
Crown, Castle, Throne	12	1
Ministers, Dukes	6	5
High Class, Nobility	5	2
Family, Inherited	4	4
System: Monarchy, Regime	1	25
Govern, Reign	3	11
Law, Order	-	11
England, Iran	7	11
History, Past	1	4
Miscellaneous	1	6
Total Scores	1,209	971

	US	I
FAMILY, INHERITED	44	40
family	21	10
blood	15	-
heir	4	-
inherited	4	30

Main Components
and Responses

US I

SYSTEM: MONARCHY, REGIME	18	239
system	-	7
government	-	9
regime	-	34
imperialism	-	12
monarchy	18	122
republic	-	7
despotic	-	17
dictatorship	-	7
democracy	-	24

GOVERN, REIGN	34	111
govern	-	73
ruling	10	-
reign	-	26
power	19	6
force	-	6
control	5	-

LAW, ORDER	-	106
law	-	17
constitutional,ism	-	28
constitutional law	-	6
order	-	38
king's order	-	10

ENGLAND, IRAN	88	107
Europe	6	-
England	77	10
Russia	5	-
Iran	-	97

HISTORY, PAST	18	39
history	-	21
old	9	-
past	9	-
2500 years, -of monarchy	-	18

MISCELLANEOUS	16	75
celebration	-	9
freedom	-	7
result	-	10
park	-	7
repeat	-	7
closeness	-	5
	-	22
war	-	8
loyalty	13	-
served	3	-

Main Components
and Responses

PEOPLE, FRIENDS,
PARENTS

	US	I
people	43	6
peers	29	-
friends	30	-
everyone	6	-
family	3	-
mother	15	9
parents	42	-
father	-	20
woman	-	6
man	-	7
social	6	-
society	6	7
teacher	6	5
farmer	15	-
culture	-	7

PERSUADE, TALK

	US	I
persuade	35	-
sway	21	-
mind	6	-
thinking, thoughts	6	10
talk	10	-
tell	8	-
reasons	8	-
opinions	9	-
decision	14	-
acceptance	-	7

MONEY, WEALTH

	US	I
money	66	23
bribe	12	-
wealth	19	22

LIFE, ENVIRONMENT,
CHANCE

	US	I
life	-	10
environment	11	-
water	-	23
drugs	9	-
alcohol	5	-
sex	6	-
school	7	-
jobs	3	-
chance	30	-

INFLUENCE

PERCEPTIONS AND EVALUATION BY
U. S. AND IRANIAN STUDENT GROUPS

Main Components	Percentage of Total Score	
	US	I
People, Friends, Parents	24	8
Persuade, Talk	14	2
Money, Wealth	10	5
Life, Environment, Chance	8	4
Leader, Chief	6	6
Good, Bad	5	-
Power, Control	23	44
Influence	-	12
Government, Politics	6	8
Colonization, Imperialism	-	6
Miscellaneous	3	6
Total Scores	834	865

LEADER, CHIEF

	US	I
president	9	-
kings	7	-
chief	-	15
boss	3	-
leader	22	-
master	-	7
superiority	10	12
position	-	15

	US	I
GOOD, BAD	42	-
good	22	-
bad	20	-

MISCELLANEOUS

	US	I
characteristic	-	7
wall	-	9
different	5	-
disorder	-	7
demonstrate	4	-
chink	-	21
beautiful	8	-
desire	6	-
progress	-	13

Main Components
and Responses

POWER, CONTROL

	US	I
power,ful	69	200
pressure	13	-
firmness	-	21
control	17	-
strong	15	-
domineer	6	-
force,ful	5	13
effect	14	7
direction	9	-
push	13	10
pull	16	-
authority	-	7
ability	-	15
proficiency	-	21
fame	8	-
prestige	8	-
popularity	-	9
influential	-	20
application	-	7
penetration	-	39
enter	-	14

INFLUENCE

	US	I
influence	-	100
GOVERNMENT, POLITICS	48	63
gov't	13	14
lobby	11	-
politics, al-	24	17
polit. connection	-	32

COLONIZATION,
IMPERIALISM

	US	I
colonization	-	13
imperialism	-	14
occupation	-	8
besiege	-	7
enemy	-	9

Main Components and Responses	US	I
WAR, FIGHTING	175	81
war	79	18
fighting	24	9
army	9	-
coup d'etat	-	16
attack	6	-
charge	6	-
blood,bleeding	-	38
death	6	-
guns	14	-
violence	19	-
destroy	12	-

REBEL, OVERTHROW, CHAOS	157	159
anger	6	-
unhappy	8	-
misery	-	7
argument	-	7
protest	7	-
against,-tradition	9	-
rebellion	20	-
revolt,ion	34	8
upset	-	9
riot	10	-
fist	9	-
take over	8	-
overthrow	46	-
chaos	-	84
disorder	-	8
disturbance	-	13
disorganized	-	7
storm	-	7
rumor	-	9
hell	6	-

AMERICAN, RUSSIAN, WHITE	141	141
world	8	-
country	-	16
American, U.S.	58	-
French revolution	14	-
France	-	23
Iran	-	8
China	-	10
Latin America	7	-
Russian	33	26
Spanish	6	-
Italian Revolution	-	7
White Revolution	-	42
1776	9	-
1917	6	-
book	-	9

REVOLUTION PERCEPTIONS AND EVALUATIONS BY U. S. AND IRANIAN STUDENT GROUPS

Main Components	Percentage of Total Score	
	US	I
War, Fighting	22	9
Rebel, Overthrow, Chaos	20	18
American, Russian, White	18	16
Social, Industrial	5	-
Beatles	4	-
Injustice, Oppression	2	1
Change, Metamorphosis	13	24
People, Leaders, King	7	15
Progress, Freedom	3	9
Government, Rule	3	4
Miscellaneous	3	2
Total Scores	804	905

	US	I
SOCIAL, INDUSTRIAL	37	-
social	15	-
industrial,y	22	-
BEATLES	35	-
Beatles	35	-
INJUSTICE, OPPRESSION	19	13
oppressed	6	-
injustice	-	6
dictator	6	-
anarchy	7	-
inconsistent	-	7

CHANGE, METAMORPHOSIS	105	220
metamorphosis	-	92
change	42	-
transformation	-	46
movement	-	41
evolution	14	-
invert	-	7
turn	8	-
around	15	-
cycle	6	-
jump	-	20
now	12	-
new, to seek new transformation of foundation	8	7
	-	7

PEOPLE, LEADERS, KING	59	138
people	18	56
masses	6	13
student	6	-
radicals	6	-
Marx,ist	23	-
King,-of people	-	62
group	-	7

PROGRESS, FREEDOM	23	92
good	14	-
reform	-	7
progress	-	20
freedom	9	14
peace	-	14
order	-	8
happiness	-	7
greatness	-	7
goal	-	8
necessity	-	7

GOVERNMENT, RULE	28	39
government	14	-
politics	7	20
rule	-	9
power	7	-
office manage	-	10

MISCELLANEOUS	25	22
moon	7	-
think	-	7
mentality	-	7
life	-	8
sony	6	-
#9	12	343

Main Components and Responses	US	I
DEATH, KILLING	228	134
death	70	23
killing	107	-
murder	13	-
blood, shed	26	60
pain	12	-
slaughter	-	44
cruelty	-	7
NATIONS, PEOPLE	167	86
world, wide	20	8
countries	6	7
America, U.S.	-	7
Israel	-	14
Middle East	11	-
Iran	-	8
Iraq	-	7
Vietnam	58	17
government	9	-
politics	9	6
civil	16	-
people	6	-
men	13	-
children	6	-
nurse	-	2
prostitutes	-	10
hero	7	-
Eric Burman	6	-
PEACE	123	47
peace	117	35
win	6	-
successful	-	12
BAD, CORRUPTION	74	69
bad	29	-
ugliness	-	9
corruption	-	35
foolish	-	7
selfish	-	8
evil	10	-
unlawful	6	-
stupidity	6	-
madness	-	10
nonsense	6	-
unnecessary	6	-
useless	11	-

WAR

PERCEPTIONS AND EVALUATIONS BY U. S. AND IRANIAN STUDENT GROUPS

Main Components	Percentage of Total Score	
	US	I
Death, Killing	24	14
Nations, People	17	9
Peace	13	5
Bad, Corruption	8	7
Weapons, Fighting	22	25
Misery, Poverty	2	19
Destruction, Ruin	4	11
Enemy, Hatred	5	6
Miscellaneous	4	3
Total Scores	964	946

	US	I
MISCELLANEOUS	43	32
economics	-	7
love	6	-
good	8	-
over	6	-
dog	6	-
declaration	6	-
time	10	-
meet	-	3
nonexistent	-	15
necessity	-	7

Main Components and Responses	US	I
WEAPONS, FIGHTING	217	232
weapons	-	18
guns	56	15
bullets	-	8
cannons	-	16
tanks	-	14
airplanes	-	12
bombs	32	9
nuclear	8	-
army	19	-
soldiers	19	21
battle	15	10
fighting	61	12
struggle	-	10
quarrel	-	58
violent	7	-
chaos	-	9
trouble	-	14
revenge U.S.	-	6
MISERY, POVERTY	19	182
failure	-	7
lower	6	-
weakness	-	9
underdevelopment	-	3
oppression	-	7
hardship	-	7
darkness	-	7
paranoid	-	9
misery	-	32
weep	-	3
sorrow, sadness	7	9
fright	-	13
poverty	6	34
without food	-	2
starvation	-	16
famine	-	7
illness	-	14
hospital	-	3
DESTRUCTION, RUIN	40	105
destroy, d	14	57
destruction	17	8
smoke	9	-
fire	-	13
ruined state	-	27
ENEMY, HATRED	53	59
enemies	-	38
monger	20	-
hatred	33	21

Main Components and Responses	US	I
WAR	166	108
war	153	86
hate	7	-
enemy	-	15
darkness	-	7
never	6	-
SERENE, TRANQUIL	136	9
of mind	7	-
contentment	14	-
calm	21	-
relaxation	6	-
rest	6	-
sleep	13	-
serene,ty	23	-
tranquil,ty	27	-
solitude	6	-
peace	-	9
security	7	-
stable	6	-
WORLD, NATIONS	73	37
Israel	-	7
Arabs	-	15
Vietnam	6	7
world	17	-
earth,on-	20	-
people	7	-
human being	-	8
hippies	14	-
corps	9	-
HAPPINESS, PLEASURE	66	30
happiness	46	10
pleasure	7	-
pleasantness	-	20
harmony	13	-

PEACE

PERCEPTIONS AND EVALUATIONS BY U. S. AND IRANIAN STUDENT GROUPS

Main Components	Percentage of Total Score	
	US	I
War	20	16
Serene, Tranquil	16	1
World, Nations	9	5
Happiness, Pleasure	8	4
Love, Friendship	18	25
Ideals, Equality, Freedom	6	12
Quiet, Silence	6	12
Symbols, Dove, White	9	11
Reconcile, Talk	1	11
Miscellaneous	6	3
Total Scores	820	687

	US	I
MISCELLANEOUS	49	19
Harrison	6	-
pace	6	-
time	11	-
court	-	5
forever	7	-
cake	7	-
come	6	-
quilt	6	-
life	-	7
olden, days	-	7

Main Components and Responses	US	I
LOVE, FRIENDSHIP	148	179
love,ing	134	-
friendship	-	115
brotherhood	-	17
understanding,mut.	8	38
closeness	-	9
good will	6	-
IDEALS, EQUALITY, FREEDOM	54	82
honor	6	-
good	6	-
ideal	8	7
necessary	6	-
equality	7	26
freedom	14	10
wish	-	13
hope	7	-
progress	-	12
success	-	7
imaginative	-	7
QUIET, SILENCE	48	79
quiet,ness	40	-
silence	8	79
SYMBOLS, DOVE, WHITE	72	73
symbol	16	-
sign	13	-
dove,white	-	34
olive,-branch	11	-
white,ness	6	27
flag	-	12
fingers	11	-
God	6	-
Christmas	9	-
RECONCILE, TALK	8	71
reconcile	-	53
cooperation	-	10
talk	8	-
treaty	-	8

Main Components and Responses	US	I
CONSTITUTION, RIGHTS	81	64
constitution	13	-
rights	15	-
justice	19	7
equality	20	57
religion	8	-
sexual	6	-
INDEPENDENCE, LIBERTY	75	74
independence	-	52
free, dom	23	8
liberation	-	7
liberty	52	-
liberty of thinking	-	7
REVOLUTION, WAR	58	7
revolution	6	-
rider	12	-
Wars	18	-
fight	15	-
escape	-	7
death	7	-
RESPONSIBILITY, WORK	55	12
responsibility	11	-
choice	31	-
nobility	6	-
work	-	7
do	7	-
cooperate	-	5
GOOD, NECESSARY	40	16
desire	7	-
need	7	9
good	19	-
great intention	7	-
	-	7

FREEDOM

PERCEPTIONS AND EVALUATIONS BY U. S. AND IRANIAN STUDENT GROUPS

Main Components	Percentage of Total Score	
	A	I
Constitution, Rights	12	9
Independence, Liberty	11	11
Revolution, War	8	1
Responsibility, Work	8	2
Good, Necessary	6	2
Slavery, Prisons	5	4
Speech, Beliefs	4	3
Happiness, Peace Hope	10	21
Deliverance, Open	11	19
People, Nations	11	14
Democracy, Government	6	9
Miscellaneous	8	4
Total Scores	690	676

SLAVERY, PRISONS	33	27
slave, ry	27	-
captivity	-	21
prisons	-	6
imprisonment	6	-
SPEECH, BELIEFS	26	20
thought	-	13
speech	20	-
beliefs	6	-
imagination	-	7

DEMOCRACY, GOVERNMENT	42	64
government	-	18
democracy, tic	36	32
reign	6	-
politics	-	7
anarchy	-	7
MISCELLANEOUS	58	26
star	6	-
songs	6	-
flag	7	-
statue	-	8
future	-	8
money	9	-
wind	10	10
from	9	-
now	12	-
phantom	-	10

Main Components and Responses	US	I
HAPPINESS, PEACE, HOPE	72	142
happiness	15	35
joy	6	-
enjoy	-	13
love	13	-
brotherhood	-	15
friendship	-	9
safe	6	-
peace	17	15
silence	-	13
feeling	-	7
unity	-	7
hope	6	7
aspiration	-	7
honor	-	7
heaven	9	-
mutual thinking	-	7
DELIVERANCE, OPEN	74	129
deliverance	-	72
wild	6	-
movement, travel	14	-
fly	-	18
journey	-	7
no controls	6	-
no ties	7	-
run	9	-
open	20	-
ease	-	18
unhampered	6	-
unlocked	6	-
careless	-	7
meaningless	-	7
PEOPLE, NATIONS	76	95
people	7	22
human	-	7
Blacks	6	-
society	-	14
us	9	-
George Washington	6	-
Gary	6	-
life	16	21
country	11	21
land	8	-
America, U.S.	7	10

Main Components
and Responses

	US	I
HISTORY, DECLARATION	187	6
history	9	-
bicentennial	14	-
colonies	10	-
Jefferson	6	-
declaration	64	-
celebration	6	-
day	32	-
fireworks	6	-
flag	17	6
hall	17	-
Philadelphia	6	-
SELF, PEOPLE	123	36
individual,ty	9	9
mine	6	-
me	20	-
own	7	-
self	13	-
alone	30	-
people	22	13
parents	10	-
mother	6	-
women	-	7
solitude	-	7
COUNTRIES, AMERICA	124	77
countries,y	7	24
nation,ality	9	13
homeland	-	8
America, U.S.	70	-
territory	-	7
Vietnam	-	6
Israel	10	-
United Nations	-	5
England	15	-
Missouri	13	-
international	-	14
GOVERNMENT, DEMOCRACY	61	45
govern,ment	7	14
democracy,tic	10	10
constitution	17	-
right	16	-
choice	11	-
politics	-	7
candidate	-	7
jurisdiction	-	7

INDEPENDENCE

PERCEPTIONS AND EVALUATIONS BY
U. S. AND IRANIAN STUDENT GROUPS

Main Components	Percentage of Total Score	
	A	I
History, Declaration	22	1
Self, People	14	5
Countries, America	14	10
Government, Democracy	7	6
Freedom, Liberty	20	35
Revolution, Struggle	5	13
Happiness, Security, Peace	5	10
Ambition, Power	5	6
Maturity, Confidence	2	5
Money, Wealth	2	3
Miscellaneous	2	6
Total Scores	850	762

	US	I
MONEY, WEALTH	21	21
money	11	-
wealth	10	10
financial	-	5
economy	-	6
MISCELLANEOUS	21	49
education	6	-
job	8	-
life	7	15
program	-	7
think	-	7
entirety	-	13
rotation	-	7

Main Components
and Responses

	US	I
FREEDOM, LIBERTY	166	265
freedom	-	171
free, to be-	155	9
liberty	11	-
independent	-	85
REVOLUTION, STRUGGLE	44	97
revolution	25	-
war	-	10
fighting	6	-
trouble	-	9
struggle	-	29
slave	13	-
colonization	-	28
escape	-	21
HAPPINESS, SECURITY, PEACE	44	80
good	9	10
happiness	12	-
good feeling	-	7
enjoy	10	-
security	13	7
peace	-	22
comfort,able	-	17
pleasure	-	10
glory	-	7
AMBITION, POWER	42	47
growth	14	-
movement	-	7
needed	6	-
want	8	-
strength,strong	14	-
power	-	16
try	-	17
ambitiousness	-	7
MATURITY CONFIDENCE	17	39
mature	11	-
confidence	-	17
trust	6	-
reliance	-	10
gentlemanly	-	12

Main Components
and Responses

PEOPLE 275 63

people	26	-
everyone	13	-
human	48	-
civil	54	-
society	-	14
social	-	14
women	56	-
others	7	-
father-in-law	-	7
son	-	6
students	8	12
yours	9	-
our	15	-
minorities	8	-
Black	15	-
racial	8	-
life	8	10

EQUALITY, FREEDOM 170 81

rights	-	6
privileges	12	-
reward	-	27
equality	43	27
freedom	55	-
liberty	21	-
equity	-	7
religious	16	-
speech	11	-
voting	6	-
choose, choice	6	-
property	-	14

LAW, CONSTITUTION 124 36

law	39	17
bill	30	-
constitution	55	-
regulations	-	7
Justice Dept.	-	12

INDIVIDUAL, PERSONAL 64 7

individual	31	7
personal	16	-
mine, my	17	-

RIGHTS

PERCEPTIONS AND EVALUATIONS BY
U. S. AND IRANIAN STUDENT GROUPS

Main Components	Percentage of Total Score	
	A	I
People	32	11
Equality, Freedom	19	15
Law, Constitution	14	6
Individual, Personal	7	1
Protection, Fight	6	4
Wrongs, Discrimination	5	3
Nation, Government	5	1
Money, Work	-	24
Justice, Courts	3	17
Duty, Obligation	5	10
Miscellaneous	3	6
Total Scores	873	552

WRONGS, DISCRIMINATION 47 19

wrongs	41	-
incorrectness	-	7
discrimination	6	-
prison	-	12

NATION, GOVERNMENT 45 7

America	17	-
U. N.	-	7
government	8	-
democracy	20	-

PROTECTION, FIGHT 50 20

revolution	8	-
fighting	14	-
protection	12	-
obtain	-	7
struggle	-	7
manage	-	6
amendment	16	-

Main Components
and Responses

MONEY, WORK - 132

money	-	32
salary	-	7
wages	-	39
wealth	-	13
tax	-	7
work	-	9
worker	-	8
employee	-	10
employer	-	7

JUSTICE, COURTS 23 95

justice	6	54
pan of a scale	-	7
judge	-	8
attorney	-	13
court	6	13
police	11	-

DUTY, OBLIGATION 47 56

responsibility	9	-
duties	-	7
demanding	-	7
needs	7	13
values	-	9
aim	-	6
aspirations	-	7
inalienable	18	-
given	13	-
rightful	-	7

MISCELLANEOUS 28 36

left	18	-
love	10	-
faith	-	8
situation	-	7
distinction	-	14
ration	-	7

Main Components
and Responses

	US	I
WORK, JOB	232	194
work	40	32
effort	6	-
task	6	56
chore	6	-
perform	-	18
undertaking	-	46
protect	7	-
care	25	-
help	13	-
have	6	-
hold	10	-
general	6	-
job	70	15
department	-	27
gain	6	-
money	31	-
FAMILY, MARRIAGE, HOME	124	95
family	41	42
father	6	-
paternal	-	46
mother	6	-
parents	11	-
children	17	-
marriage	7	-
wife	11	-
sister	10	-
home	15	-
house	-	7
PEOPLE, SELF	79	39
social	6	-
society	6	23
man	6	-
employee	-	6
me	7	-
self	12	-
child	-	10
adult	9	-
boyfriend	6	-
citizen	6	-
friends	15	-
you	6	-
LOVE, FEELING	62	53
love	20	-
trust	18	-
feeling	-	53
good	24	-

RESPONSIBILITY

PERCEPTIONS AND EVALUATIONS BY
U.S. AND IRANIAN STUDENT GROUPS

Main Components	Percentage of Total Score	
	A	I
Work, Job	30	24
Family, Marriage, Home	16	12
People, Self	10	5
Love, Feeling	8	6
Judgment, Maturity	6	-
School, Learn	6	3
Conscience, Obligation	8	15
Difficult, Heavy	10	15
Authority, Leadership	-	14
Life	4	5
Miscellaneous	2	-
Total Scores	777	807

	US	I
JUDGMENT, MATURITY	49	-
will power	6	-
reason	6	-
judgment	6	-
ability	11	-
maturity	20	-
SCHOOL, LEARN	46	25
school	33	10
teacher	-	5
education	-	10
learn	6	-
grades	7	-

Main Components
and Responses

	US	I
CONSCIENCE, OBLIGATION	59	121
duty	18	9
obligation	6	-
moral	-	6
conscience	-	51
consciousness	-	12
need	20	-
reliance	-	8
responsible	-	35
important	6	-
must	9	-
DIFFICULT, HEAVY	78	119
hard	6	-
difficult,ies	-	17
great	6	-
drag	6	-
burden	-	9
pressure	11	-
heavy,ness	-	34
weight	15	-
tiredness	-	12
preoccupation	-	14
worry	6	-
troubles	-	16
lacks	6	-
scars	6	-
escape	-	7
unresponsible	-	10
no	9	-
none	7	-
AUTHORITY, LEADERSHIP	-	117
authority	-	17
power	-	10
manage,ment	-	23
rule	-	13
boss	-	17
manager	-	30
leader	-	7
LIFE	29	44
life	29	44
MISCELLANEOUS	19	-
freedom	7	-
dishes	6	-
food	6	-

Main Components and Responses	US	I
COURTS, JUDGE, LAWYER	268	223
courts, room	127	106
judge	47	49
lawyer	31	17
trial	25	-
judgment	-	30
Jury	6	-
criminal	9	-
police	17	7
prison, jail	6	14
LAW	122	46
law	116	46
legal	6	-
PEACE, ORDER	82	-
peace	71	-
order	11	-
COUNTRY, GOVERNMENT	74	23
America, U.S.	28	-
country	-	9
government	6	-
democracy,tic	7	-
republic	6	-
system	18	-
department	9	-
Anoushirivan (Iranian king)	-	14
INJUSTICE, KILLING	66	42
injustice	13	-
wrong	6	-
unfair	7	-
unequal	6	-
cruel	-	10
lie	-	5
swindling	-	7
murderer	-	5
war	-	10
death	-	5
kill	6	-
no	6	-
rone	9	-
repent	6	-
Watergate	7	-

JUSTICE PERCEPTIONS AND EVALUATIONS BY U. S. AND IRANIAN STUDENT GROUPS

Main Components	Percentage of Total Score	
	A	I
Courts, Judge, Lawyer	29	28
Law	13	6
Peace, Order	9	-
Country, Government	8	3
Injustice, Killing	7	5
Balance, Scales	5	4
Rights, Equality, Fairness, Freedom	23	42
People, Society	4	5
God, Religion	-	4
Miscellaneous	3	4
Total Scores	932	806

	US	I
BALANCE, SCALES	45	30
the balance	21	-
scale	-	23
blind	24	-
equilibrium	-	7

Main Components and Responses	US	I
RIGHTS, EQUALITY, FAIRNESS, FREEDOM	212	336
rights	31	7
mutual respect	-	8
equality	78	106
fair,ness	44	-
correct	10	-
good	9	-
truth	-	49
justice,just	-	159
freedom	19	-
liberty	21	-
plead for justice	-	7
PEOPLE, SOCIETY	38	43
people	7	-
man	11	-
human,ity	-	6
civil	6	-
social	-	14
Black	7	-
woman	7	-
society	-	16
student	-	7
GOD, RELIGION	-	34
God	-	27
religion	-	7
MISCELLANEOUS	25	29
supreme	13	-
power	-	10
juice	6	-
bought	6	-
imagination	-	9
consciousness	-	10

Main Components and Responses	US	I
COURT, LAWYER, JUDGE	264	108
practice	7	-
court,-of justice	87	59
cases	18	-
lawyer	82	22
defendant	6	-
judge	52	21
gavel	6	-
guilty	6	6
POLICE, ENFORCEMENT	118	18
police	63	5
force	6	13
enforcement	43	-
arrest	6	-
CRIME, PUNISHMENT	73	22
crime	18	6
illegal	6	-
criminal	15	-
break, broken	11	-
violate	6	-
jail	11	-
prison	-	12
thief	-	4
SCHOOL, DEGREE	63	-
school	54	-
degree	9	-
UNFAIR, INJUSTICE	42	-
unfair	28	-
injustice	8	-
bad	6	-
ABIDE, RESPECT	26	18
respect for	-	13
abide, ing	20	-
necessary	6	-
obedience	-	5

LAW

PERCEPTIONS AND EVALUATIONS BY
U. S. AND IRANIAN STUDENT GROUPS

Main Components	Percentage of Total Score	
	US	I
Court, Lawyer, Judge	30	17
Police, Enforcement	14	3
Crime, Punishment	8	4
School, Degree	7	-
Unfair, Injustice	5	-
Abide, Respect	3	3
Society, Country	3	19
Rules, Constitution	11	18
Justice, Order, Equality	8	14
Government, Politics	5	8
Miscellaneous	5	13
Total Scores	865	618

	US	I
MISCELLANEOUS	44	81
quietness	-	9
business	12	-
martial	6	-
compulsion	-	12
executive	-	5
agreement	6	-
relationship	-	7
M 72	6	-
Nixon	8	-
Watergate	6	-
sin	-	7
note	-	9
salaries	-	18
condoman	-	8
unstartable	-	6

Main Components and Responses	US	I
SOCIETY, COUNTRY	21	117
society	-	28
people	-	15
civil	-	7
nation	-	10
man	7	-
country	-	39
America	6	-
world	-	6
nature	-	12
life	8	-
RULES, CONSTITUTION	99	114
rule, regulation	34	14
rules	-	43
legal	16	-
law	-	11
constitution-law	10	17
method	-	14
protection, -people	12	-
books	27	15
JUSTICE, ORDER, EQUALITY	69	87
Justice	49	37
Just	12	-
equality	8	-
scales	-	11
truth	-	26
order	56	13
GOVERNMENT, POLITICS	46	53
govern, ment	26	34
politics	8	-
makers	6	-
democracy	6	-
national assembly	-	19

Main Components and Responses	US	I
U.S., COUNTRY	222	52
U.S.	114	18
America	98	-
Europe	-	7
Greece	10	-
country	-	13
regime	-	14
VOTING, CHOICE	105	7
elections	24	7
voting	44	-
choice	21	-
talk, voice	10	-
wins	6	-
PEOPLE, GROUPS	96	104
people	83	85
groups	6	-
individuals	7	7
student	-	12
COMMUNISM, DICTATORSHIP	22	57
communism	15	8
dictatorship	-	26
theory	7	8
democracy	-	15
GOOD, ORDER, UNITY	22	54
good, great	16	-
order	-	15
social order	-	8
manage	-	7
wellbeing	-	7
welfare	-	8
peace	-	9
unity	6	-
MISCELLANEOUS	37	25
life	8	-
whole	-	9
work	-	6
history	10	-
world	6	-
Blvd.	13	-
deliverance	-	10

DEMOCRACY PERCEPTIONS AND EVALUATIONS BY U. S. AND IRANIAN STUDENT GROUPS

Main Components	Percentage of Total Score	
	US	I
U.S. Country	22	6
Voting, Choice	10	1
Rights, Freedom, Equality	23	33
Government, System	13	15
Politics, Parties, Leaders	14	15
People, Groups	10	13
Communism, Dictatorship	2	7
Good, Order, Unity	2	7
Miscellaneous	4	3
Total Scores	1,003	818

Main Components and Responses	US	I
RIGHTS, FREEDOM, EQUALITY	231	274
rights	43	6
constitution	18	-
laws	9	14
freedom	94	137
different	-	7
freedom	-	7
liberty, liberal	12	-
antidictatorial	-	5
equality	16	71
justice	-	22
fairness	33	-
freedom of speech	-	9
right of speech	-	9
GOVERNMENT, SYSTEM	130	123
government	94	108
bureaucracy	9	-
system	-	7
Washington	6	-
capitol	21	-
government of people	-	8
POLITICS, PARTIES, LEADERS	138	122
politics	11	26
Democrats	16	-
Republicans	28	-
representatives	11	7
House of Rep.	-	17
parliament	-	24
Senate	6	-
president of republic	-	26
president	24	-
dictator	8	-
King	-	7
Carter	22	-
Ford	6	-
Jefferson	6	-
Lincoln	-	8
demogogy	-	7

Main Components and Responses	US	I
HITLER, CASTRO, STALIN	364	81
dictator, ship	9	7
Hitler	132	39
Mussolini	22	-
Lenin	11	-
Stalin	29	-
Perron	-	8
Franco	19	6
Allende	14	-
Castro	41	-
Ide Amin	8	-
Nixon	12	-
Churchill	-	7
ruler	29	-
leader, ship	20	-
king, dom	8	7
COUNTRIES	156	23
Iran	-	13
Germany	29	-
Cuba	17	-
Chile	8	-
Italy	11	-
Panama	10	-
Russia	40	-
South America	8	-
Spain	33	10
FEAR, HATRED	66	36
fear	14	-
hesitate	-	7
coward	-	6
cruelty	6	-
harsh	6	-
killing	9	-
hate, d, ful	31	-
selfishness	-	23
WAR, MILITARY	40	7
war	17	-
overthrow	8	-
object	-	7
military	15	-
FREEDOM	33	-
freedom	25	-
sufferage	8	-

DICTATORSHIP
PERCEPTIONS AND EVALUATIONS BY
U. S. AND IRANIAN STUDENT GROUPS

Main Components	Percentage of Total Score	
	US	I
Hitler, Castro, Stalin	35	13
Countries	15	4
Fear, Hatred	6	6
War, Military	4	1
Freedom	3	-
Government, System	17	28
Injustice, Oppression	12	28
Power, Force	6	12
People	2	4
Miscellaneous	-	3
Total Scores	1,044	634

Main Components and Responses	US	I
GOVERNMENT, SYSTEM	174	182
government	25	58
communism	19	-
despotism	-	110
democracy, tic	16	-
anarchy	18	-
Fascist	20	-
Nazi	11	-
totalitarian	8	-
absolute	8	-
one	43	-
politics	-	14
CIA	6	-
INJUSTICE, OPPRESSION	123	182
unfair	8	-
bad	44	-
wrong	18	-
undemocratic	11	-
corruption	9	15
inequality	-	5
tyranny, cal	8	24
oppression	13	78
pressure	-	6
enslavement, slaves	6	-
no freedom	6	-
roughness	-	21
severity	-	12
colonialism, ization-	-	13
persecution	-	7
POWER, FORCE	67	77
control	11	-
power	43	36
force	13	41
PEOPLE	21	25
people	8	-
shepherd	-	7
followers	7	-
Jews	6	-
society	-	10
MISCELLANEOUS	-	21
arbitrary	-	7
individualism	-	7
misrepresentation	-	7

APPENDIX II

THE ASSOCIATIVE GROUP ANALYSIS (AGA) METHOD

DATA COLLECTION, ANALYSIS, AND MAIN CATEGORIES OF INFERENCES

- Data Collection, Test Administration
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ASSOCIATIVE GROUP ANALYSIS

Associative Group Analysis (AGA) is a research method which measures the perceptions, attitudes, meanings, and beliefs of selected social or cultural groups. Rather than using direct questions or scales, AGA draws inferences from the spontaneously emerging word associations of the groups studied. This "continued association" technique, in which the subjects give as many responses as they can think of in one minute per stimulus, produces response material with sufficiently broad foundation without having to use extremely large samples--a requirement that frequently makes socially relevant studies unfeasible and impractical. Generally, samples of 50 to 100 subjects are used to represent each particular group. The samples include preferably equal numbers of males and females. The requirements for representative sampling are fundamentally the same as in any other data collection aiming at generalizable results.

Through careful, systematic selection of stimulus themes, investigations can be focused on any desired problem areas or domains. Several related themes are selected in the representation of each domain in order to observe consistent trends on a broader data base and thus produce more generalizable findings. A strategy has been developed for selecting themes that are representative of the domains for each culture group (Szalay and Maday, 1974).

DATA COLLECTION, TEST ADMINISTRATION

The standard AGA testing conditions of group testing, written form of administration, and working with little time pressure help promote more spontaneous, meaning-mediated responses. Individual subjects remain anonymous (demographic data being obtained by a brief questionnaire that carries the same code number as the subject's test slips); assurance of this helps to reduce the likelihood of bias in the form of acquiescence, considerations of social desirability, etc.; it also opens up a variety of emotion-laden issues to objective inquiry.

The subjects are asked to write free verbal associations to each of the stimulus words presented on randomly sequenced cards. They receive the following instructions, as well as the test material, in their native language.

This experiment is part of a study in verbal behavior, and this particular task involves word associations. These are group experiments, and your responses will not be evaluated individually but collectively for your group. Your responses are completely anonymous, and you are free to give your associations concerning any subject. There are no bad or wrong answers, so do not select your responses but put them down spontaneously in the order that they occur to you.

The task is easy and simple. You will find a word printed on each slip of paper. Reading this stimulus word will make you think of other associated words (objects, ideas, issues, etc.). You are asked to write as many separate responses as you can think of in the time allotted. Try to think of one-word responses and avoid long phrases or sentences.

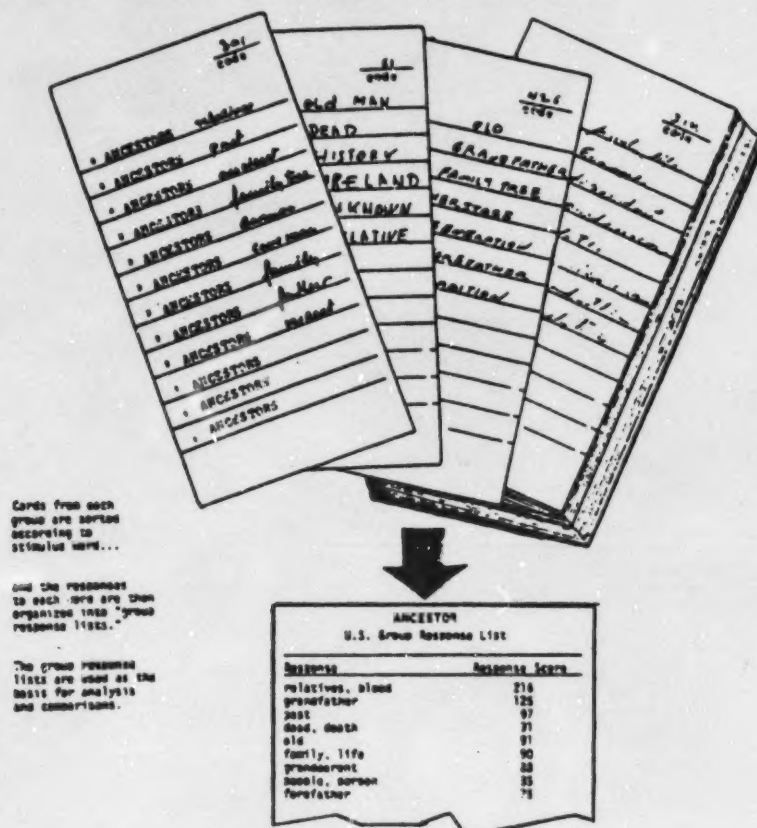
It is important that in giving your responses you always take the given stimulus word into consideration. For example, if the stimulus word was *table* and your answer was *writing*, in giving the subsequent responses you must refer back to *table* and avoid "chain" responses (*writing, pen, ink, blue, ocean, sail....*).

Please work without hurrying, but do your best to give us as many answers as possible. One minute will be given for each word. At the end of each minute I will ask you to go on to the next word. Do not work longer than one minute on any word and do not read ahead or return to others later.

DATA ORGANIZATION: SCORING RESPONSES, COMPILING GROUP RESPONSE LISTS

A logical assumption is that earlier responses are more meaningful than later ones, that the first response has more salience to the subject than the last. This assumption is supported by empirical evidence. The stability of responses obtained at different rank places was studied by comparing the responses obtained from the same group in two separate sessions one month apart (Szalay and Brent, 1967). The responses obtained at higher rank places in the first test showed higher stability in the second test than did the responses first obtained at lower rank places. The coefficients of stability obtained in this comparative study provide the weights for the various rank places. The response scores consist of frequency within 50-member groups weighted by the order of occurrence. The weights beginning with the first response are: 6,5,4,3,3,3,3,2,2,1,1...

The cards are organized by stimulus words, and the individual responses from all the subjects are tallied into group response lists. Certain responses (e.g., *school* to *educated*) will occur to many members of the group; other responses may be given by only one or two members. In order to focus on the shared meaning for a particular group, the responses given by only one person are excluded from analysis.



If we look at associations produced by members of our own culture group, they appear to be just plain common sense. We tend to feel that everybody would produce similar responses and that the responses do not tell us anything new. This impression is probably the major reason that the potential information value of associative response distributions has not been clearly recognized in the past. The systematic exploitation of associations as an important information source is the central objective of the AGA method. The feeling that everybody would produce similar responses is a culture-bound impression. This becomes apparent if we compare associations obtained from groups with different cultural backgrounds. A comparison of U.S. and Korean responses to the stimulus *ancestors*, for instance, shows that the most frequent U.S. response *relative* occurs only down around the middle of the Korean response list. Of the five most frequent Korean responses, only two, *grandfather* and *forefather*, occur

to the Americans. Both lists contain numerous responses which have high scores or salience for one culture group and low or no salience at all for the other group. A quick glance at the most frequent responses readily reveals that they are not accidental, but deeply rooted in the cultural background, religious-moral philosophy, life conditions, and contemporary experiences of the respective groups.

U.S. AND KOREAN GROUP RESPONSES TO ANCESTORS

U.S. GROUP		KOREAN GROUP	
Response	Response Score	Response	Response Score
relatives, blood	216	grandfather	420
grandfather	126	rite	198
past	97	forefather	125
dead, death	91	grave, visit	106
old	91	veneration	84
family, life	90	elders	82
grandparent	88	Tau gun	81
people, person	85	burial ground	77
forefather	75	great grandfather	77
history	69	father	58
before, -me, -us	56	genealogy	58
ancient	54	generation	55
descendant	52	day gone by	49
family tree	48	primitive man	35
grandmother	47	respect	34
predecessor	45	human being	33
father	34	founder	31
long ago	32	relatives, blood	31
heritage	31	history	30
Indians	26	family, life	28
Ireland, ish	24	tradition	28
tradition	23	ties	25
caveman	18	serve	24
great	17	other	23
forebearers	16	deceased	19
German, y	15	home	19
great grandfather	15	lineage	18
foreign, er	14	hill	17
generation	13	I	14
Neanderthal	13	dead, death	14
early, fer	11	habit	12
Java man	11	senior	11
Adam	10	vanity	11
Europe	10	country side	10
other	10	posterity	10
worship	10	clan	9
American	8	Lee Dynasty	9
year	7	Lee Sun -sin	8
unknown	6	Park Hgokkose	8
genealogy	6	King Sejong	7
respect	6		
man	5		

Each group response list represents a rich information source reflecting the group's characteristic understanding of the stimulus word, including perceptual and affective details which are frequently unverbalizable and below their level of awareness. Actually, a systematic examination of such response lists has shown that every response contains a piece of valid information about the group's characteristic understanding and evaluation of the stimulus word. Responses with a sizable score value (10-15) are rarely accidental. Using conservative estimates, score differences of 18 can be considered significant at the .05 level, score differences of 24 at the .01 level. The wealth of information provided by the group response list is impressive, since even small score differences can have significant implications for communication and choice behavior (Szalay et al., 1972).

MAIN CATEGORIES OF INFERENCES, THEIR RELIABILITY AND VALIDITY

For the identification of various psychocultural characteristics, several analytical procedures have been developed, relying on the group response lists as the main data base.

GROUP PERCEPTIONS, IMAGES, MEANINGS

One procedure relies on content analysis and provides for the identification of the main meaning components and their characteristic saliences. The meaning components are obtained by asking judges with backgrounds comparable to those of the groups from which the responses were obtained to group the responses into clusters.

Each category is described by a score and by a label to indicate its content. The category score is the sum of the scores of each subsumed response and expresses the importance of the category for a particular group. If a category yields a high score for a group, it may be said that the category constitutes an important meaning component of that theme for that group.

Using this procedure to analyze the stimulus theme *ancestor*, for example, we find a sizable group of responses dealing with "rites, veneration, and worship." The overwhelming majority of these responses come from the Koreans while only a few of the American responses fall in this category. A modest familiarity with the cultural background of the Koreans makes it obvious that this component reflects the traditional ancestor worship and shows how salient this cultural element is in the minds of contemporary Korean citizens. Another group of responses identified by the judges concerns the past and other time references, indicating that ancestors belong very much to past, ancient times in the minds of our American respondents. This is less the case with the Koreans, probably because active veneration and worship is still part of contemporary religious practices. Another cluster of related responses involve references to foreign, predominantly European countries. These responses come practically exclusively from Americans and show their awareness of their foreign ancestry. Naturally this component of cultural meaning is essentially missing from the Korean image of ancestors. Through this process of content analysis, the judges assign all responses to main response categories of U.S. and Korean cultural meanings.

CATEGORIZATION OF U.S. AND KOREAN RESPONSES TO *ANCESTORS*

RITES, VENERATION, WORSHIP			TIME: PAST, OLD			PEOPLE, FOREIGNERS		
	score			score			score	
	US	K		US	K		US	K
worship	10	-	past	97	-	American	8	-
respect	6	34	old	91	-	Europe	10	-
veneration	-	84	before, -ma, -us	56	-	German, -y	15	-
serve	-	24	ancient	54	-	Ireland, -ish	24	-
great	17	-	long ago	32	-	Indians	26	-
rite	-	198	early, -ier	11	-	foreign, -er	14	-
other	6	44	unknown	6	-	human being	-	33
			days gone by	-	49	man	6	-
			year	7	-	people, person	85	-
			posterity	-	10			
	39	384		354	59		187	33

In the case of the responses to ancestors the judges have used ten categories to identify the most salient components of the groups' contemporary meanings of Ancestors. The scores the various components accumulated in this process reflect the subjective salience of each component for the cultural groups compared. The main content categories obtained by this analysis describe the total subjective meaning of the theme in terms of the main components characteristic of each group's understanding. Because there is usually a difference between the two groups in their level of responding, the category scores are converted to percentages of the respective total scores in order to make them directly comparable.

PERCEPTION AND EVALUATION OF ANCESTORS BY AMERICANS AND KOREANS

Meaning Components	U.S. Group		Korean Group	
	Score	%	Score	%
Time: Past, Old	354	20	59	3
Relationship, Family Tree	335	19	196	9
People, Foreigners	187	10	33	2
History, Tradition	152	8	84	4
Prehistoric Man, Ape	73	4	35	2
Forefathers, Grandparents, Relatives	546	30	824	39
Rites, Veneration, Worship	39	2	384	18
Grave, Dead	91	5	233	11
Legendary Figures	-	0	52	7
Miscellaneous	25	1	108	5
Total Scores (Dominance)	1,802		2,100	

The reliability of the content analytic method was tested by comparing the performance of five judges working independently from each other. The interjudge reliability measured by product-moment correlation across 76 categories was .7. The validity of such inferences on particular single meaning components cannot be directly assessed because simple criterion measures are not available. There are, however, findings which show, for instance, that the salience of these meaning components provides valid predictions on the meaningfulness of messages in intercultural communications. Communication material that capitalized on salient components of cultural meanings was judged by members of this culture as relatively more meaningful than comparable communication material produced by cultural experts (Szalay, Lysne, and Bryson, 1972).

ASSOCIATIONS TO PICTURES

By using pictures rather than words for eliciting word associations, the responses reveal that different groups see and understand the same picture frequently quite differently. It is apparent that many of the following reactions refer to details that are not visually present in the picture but exist only in the eyes of the beholder.



predominantly American reactions			MAIN COMPONENTS OF PERCEPTION AND EVALUATION BY PUERTO RICAN AND AMERICAN STUDENTS			predominantly Puerto Rican reactions		
	PR	US		PR%	US%		PR	US
BED, ROOM, CAMP	80	138	BED, ROOM, CAMP	11	12	FAMILY MEMBERS, CHILDREN	249	32
bed, s, room	37	95	MALE, FEMALE SEX ROLES	11	13	babies	6	-
house	6	-	FUN, RELAXATION	10	12	brother	-	8
room	28	13	LEGS, BODY	-	12	sister, s	17	-
camp, overnight	-	12	PEOPLE: BABYSITTER, ROOMMATE	6	11	brothers and sisters	58	-
dorm	-	10	RACE	-	6	child, ren, hood	112	32
sleep	9	8	NEGATIVE FEELINGS	1	2	family	8	-
MALE, FEMALE SEX ROLES	77	93	POSITIVE FEELINGS	9	5	home	13	-
boys	-	6	LOVE, FRIENDSHIP	12	9	kids	-	13
female	-	14	FAMILY MEMBERS, CHILDREN	34	4	marriage	11	-
girl, s, 2-	18	55	MISCELLANEOUS	4	6	mother	18	-
women	45	-				mother and children	6	-
lady	-	6				LOVE, FRIENDSHIP	83	63
sex, y	14	12				affection	10	-
FUN, RELAXATION	74	88	TOTAL SCORES			care	-	9
fun	6	-	PR = 720			companionship	10	-
laughing, giggles	-	18	US = 718			friends, ship	24	38
smile, ing	16	15				love	21	9
play, ing	10	20				fraternity	10	-
relax, down, ing	-	18				together	-	7
rest, ing	33	-				union	8	-
lounging	-	6				POSITIVE FEELINGS	68	38
talking, conversation	9	13				happy, ness	58	38
LEGS, BODY	-	89				pleasure	10	-
leg, s	-	76				NEGATIVE FEELINGS	10	13
body	-	6				hurt	-	6
skirt	-	7				sadness	10	-
PEOPLE: BABYSITTER, ROOMMATE	47	78				scared	-	7
babysitter	-	32				MISCELLANEOUS	32	42
roommate	-	15				think, ing	6	-
teenager	-	11				look, ing	7	6
teacher	-	6				beauty	-	6
persons	6	-				tools	6	-
two	-	8				ideas	7	-
young, youth	41	6				social	-	6
RACE	-	42				strange	-	6
black	-	27				flirt	6	-
white	-	15				compromising	-	6
						picture distortion	-	6
						indistinguishable	-	6

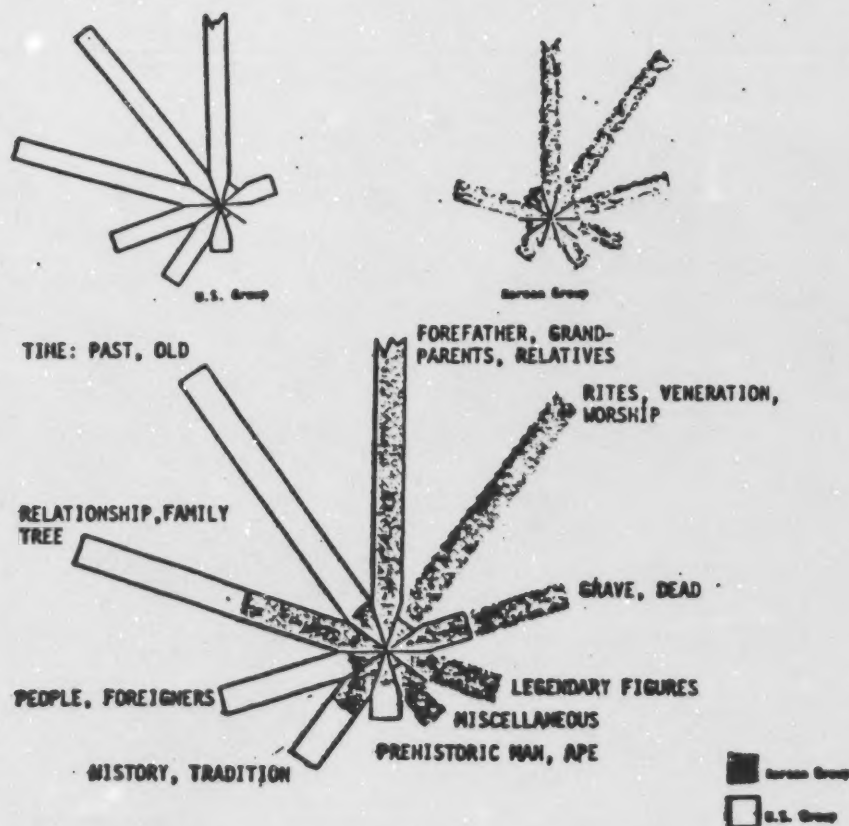
For Americans this scene depicts a casual relationship, that of a babysitter or roommate. They note more of the visible details--legs, body--and observe a racial difference between the two girls.

For the Puerto Ricans this scene depicts a definite family relationship, either siblings or parent-child. They project more positive feelings into the picture and more love and affection, while the Americans mention primarily friendship. The Puerto Ricans do not notice any racial differences.

Another way to present the results of content analysis is the semantograph. It shows the main categories of group meaning by using radially arranged bars. The dotted bars represent the main components of Korean interpretation and the striped bars the main components of U.S. interpretation. Where the bars are similar in length, substantial agreement exists between U.S. and Korean responses. The bars are arbitrarily arranged so that those on the left of the semantograph show meaning components especially strong (salient) for the U.S. group and those on the right show meaning components especially strong for the Korean group. This presentation is designed to help the reader to recognize components on which his own group and the other culture group are in agreement or disagreement.

ANCESTOR

Main Meaning Components
for U.S. and Korean Groups



U.S. and Korean Groups' Main Meaning Components in Combined Presentation

IDENTIFICATION OF DIFFERENTIAL RESPONSE TRENDS

The strategy of this method goes beyond a comparative presentation of single words or pictures. Actually, we use clusters of word samples in the representation of larger domains for which there may be several hundred words in the vocabulary. The main trends of cultural conceptualization and priorities emerge then from consistent response trends which are observable across several themes used in the representation of the domains.

A computer-based matrix evaluation of responses produced to selected stimuli provides a more global picture of the general response trends differentiating two groups. In this analysis we use a stimulus-response matrix in which the individual stimuli represent the heads of the columns and the responses, the rows. The response scores constitute the cell values and the row totals represent the total score a particular response accumulated across all the stimuli included in the analysis. These row totals show the salience of a particular response in the context of all the stimuli used in the representation of a given semantic domain. A comparison of the row totals in the matrix of each group offers a simple method for the identification of different response trends. The analysis is limited to responses whose score difference between the two groups goes beyond a certain magnitude (e.g., 30 or more in either direction). The matrices contain several thousand responses and are too lengthy for presentation, but at this level of analysis we are not interested in the single items or in the responses given equal emphasis by both groups. Rather, it is more interesting to explore to what extent the row totals suggest differential response trends, different perceptual priorities, projective mechanisms. Thus, the analysis is selective, focusing on responses with significantly different salience.

To facilitate the review of response trends, we again use the content analysis approach to group the related responses together. These matrices have been used to compare pictorial versus verbal stimuli, ethnic-racial groups, and before-after reactions. The responses of different racial or cultural groups can be compared to identify response trends with significantly different saliences for these two groups. A comparison of reactions produced before and after an event (e.g., film episode) can be used to identify which perceptual and attitudinal trends were strengthened and which lost salience.

SUBJECTIVE PRIORITIES OR IMPORTANCE

How important a certain subject, theme, idea, or issue is to a particular group can be inferred from the number of responses they give to it as a stimulus word. The dominance score, simply the sum of the scores of all responses elicited by a particular theme or domain, is used to measure the subjective importance. This measure is analogous to Noble's *m* measure of meaningfulness. The priorities of different social or cultural groups can be compared by looking at their dominance scores on the same concepts. Dominance scores reveal group-specific priorities not only on single issues but also for larger domains, as shown in the example below.

DOMINANCE SCORES OF BLACK AND WHITE GROUPS

Domain and Themes	White	Black	Domain and Themes	White	Black
ISMS			SOCIAL PROB.		
democracy	636	449	society (U.S.)	316	342
socialism	396	280	social class	402	475
capitalism	362	298	social justice	376	378
communism	733	502	social progress	260	334
mean	532	382	mean	338	382
NATION			NEEDS		
nation	661	591	goal	514	581
United States	877	765	expectation	236	298
patriotism	508	222	desire	621	701
Americans	605	648	valuable	832	876
mean	663	556	mean	551	614

The results in this table come from a more inclusive study in which samples of Black and White blue-collar workers were compared on the relative importance they assigned to 60 selected themes in 15 major domains. The table includes domains on which the groups showed the greatest differences. The Black group shows more concern with social problems and needs, while the White group places more emphasis on political isms and nationalism.

The group-based dominance scores have been found to be highly culture-specific (Szalay, Moon, Lysne, and Bryson, 1971) and have a reliability of .93 calculated from a test-retest comparison of 40 themes.

More information on the dominance scores can be found in *Communication Lexicon on Three South Korean Audiences* (L.B. Szalay, W.T. Moon, and J. Bryson, American Institutes for Research, Kensington, Md., 1971).

OVERALL SIMILARITY IN PERCEPTIONS

To measure the extent to which two groups, cultural or social, agree in their perception and understanding of a particular theme, idea, or issue like birth control or socialism, the coefficient of similarity is used. Similarity in subjective meaning is inferred from the similarity of response distributions measured by Pearson's product-moment correlation. Close similarity (high coefficient) means that the high frequency responses produced by one group are also high frequency responses for the other group; similarly, the low frequency responses produced by one group will generally be the same as those produced by the other group.

INTERGROUP SIMILARITY BETWEEN BLACK AND WHITE GROUPS

Domain and Themes	r	Domain and Themes	r
EDUCATION		NEEDS	
school	.90	goal	.38
knowledge	.88	expectation	-.47
educated	.92	desire	.76
to learn	.79	valuable	.90
mean	.88	mean	.53
FAMILY		SOCIAL PROBLEMS	
father	.80	society (U.S.)	.38
mother	.92	social class	.50
family	.84	social justice	.15
home	.79	social progress	-.04
mean	.84	mean	.25

In the example above, the problem areas or domains are presented in descending order of agreement. The reactions of the Black and White groups were most similar in the areas of education and family. The problem areas showing least agreement, social problems and needs, are the same areas in which the dominance scores reflected more concern among the Black group.

The reliability of the coefficient of similarity measure was tested by comparing two groups obtained by splitting a larger group randomly into two halves; the coefficients produced on a sample of themes was then averaged. In a comparison of two split-half groups on 26 themes, a correlation of .73 was obtained recently. In an earlier comparison an r of .82 was obtained calculated over 40 themes. A closer examination reveals that the coefficient depends a great deal on the particular theme under consideration. Themes that are specific and concrete produce steep response distributions characterized by a few widely shared responses, or meaning elements. The theme *family*, for example, is specific and concrete

and for everybody to a certain extent it involves father and mother. The themes *concern* and *anxiety* are less definite, and instead of everybody agreeing on a few particularly salient responses, people produce a broad diversity of responses. In this situation, low correlation does not necessarily indicate low reliability of the measure but may be a consequence of the indeterminate nature of the theme. In such a situation the stability of the measure may be better estimated by considering how stable a coefficient is within particular themes rather than across all themes. To assess this stability, the coefficients obtained on the same themes for the two split-half groups were correlated over the 26 themes and produced an r of .89.

The similarity measure is described in more detail in Priorities, Meanings and Psychocultural Distance of Black, White, and Spanish American Groups (L. B. Szalay, R.E. Williams, J. A. Bryson, and G. West, American Institutes for Research, Washington, D. C., 1976) and in "Psychological Meaning: Comparative Analyses and Theoretical Implications" (L.B. Szalay and J.A. Bryson in *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 1974, 30:6, 860-870).

Intragroup Homogeneity

A comparison of split-half groups shows how much agreement exists within a particular group on a particular stimulus theme. As previously mentioned this intragroup agreement depends to a certain degree on the determinate or indeterminate nature of the stimulus.

A second factor influencing the value of the coefficient is the size of the group. Based on 32 themes in the domains of family and health, mean coefficients were calculated using sample sizes of 13, 26, 52, 78, 104, and 156. They showed a distinct increase with the size of the groups compared. The rate of the increase is fast if we increase the size of small samples. For instance, an increase in sample size from 13 to 26 produced an increase of 27 points in the coefficient, while an increase from 52 to 104 produced an increase of only 9 points. Thus, there is a distinct decline in the growth rate in the case of large samples, and the coefficients come close to their plateau with a sample size of 200. Correlations do not generally increase just because the base of their calculation is extended. An explanation is likely to be found in the nature of mechanics of the calculation; the relatively large number of 0 scores obtained with a small sample decreases the correlation value.

Another interesting and important characteristic of the homogeneity coefficient is that it varies with the characteristics of individual themes. The variations are apparently explicable by the fact that some themes and domains are more concrete, definite, tangible (e.g., car, money), while others are more indeterminate, unobservable, abstract (equality, expectation). These variations may be illustrated by calculating coefficients of homogeneity on 16 themes in the family domain (family, mother, father, home, etc.) using three different sample sizes: 13, 52, and 156. In contrast to the wide range of variation (-.12 to .70) observed at the level of smallest sample, in the case of the largest sample the range was narrower (.72 to .96). As a tentative explanation we are inclined to suggest the phenomenon of "cultural sharing" (D'Andrade, 1959). It follows from the rationale of this sharing phenomenon that larger groups, which provide a broader basis for observations, can be more completely described than smaller ones. These data underscore the importance of working with a sample size of at least 50.

ATTITUDES AND EVALUATIONS

How people evaluate ideas and events---ERA, arms embargo, human rights, legalization of marijuana--- can be assessed without asking them directly. The evaluative content of specific themes is inferred from the relative dominance of positive or negative responses. Two judges working independently assign the responses to positive, negative, or neutral categories. An index of evaluative dominance (EDI) is then calculated by the following formula:

$$EDI = \frac{\sum \text{scores of positive responses} - \sum \text{scores of negative responses}}{\sum \text{scores of all responses}} \times 100$$

EVALUATIVE DOMINANCE INDICES FOR U.S. AND KOREAN GROUPS

Theme	U.S. Group	Korean Group
family	25	22
proud	12	28
educated	51	51
knowledge	50	44
offense	-27	-53
capitalism	10	-4
communism	-14	-32
equality	19	20
poor	-58	-28
beggar	-63	-42

A higher index implies more intense group evaluation, in either a positive or negative direction. The above example shows that Koreans are more negative in their evaluation of political systems, particularly communism. Their less negative evaluation of poverty and beggars may indicate more familiarity with or tolerance of these problems.

The EDI measure is described in A Study of American and Korean Attitudes and Values Through Associative Group Analysis (L.B. Szalay, D. A. Lysne, and J. E. Brent, American Institutes for Research, Kensington, Md., 1970) and in "Attitude Measurement by Free Verbal Associations" (L. B. Szalay, C. Windle, and D.A. Lysne, Journal of Social Psychology, 1970, 82, 43-55).

A direct method of assessing attitudes can also be used. It involves asking the respondents to give a general evaluation of each stimulus word after performing the verbal association task. To express whether the words mean something positive, negative, or neutral, they use the following scale:

- | | |
|--|------------------------------------|
| 3 - strongly positive, favorable connotation | -1 - slightly negative connotation |
| 2 - quite positive, favorable connotation | -2 - quite negative connotation |
| 1 - slightly positive, favorable connotation | -3 - strongly negative connotation |
| 0 - neutral or ambivalent feeling tones | |

A mean group attitude score is obtained for each stimulus word. Distance in evaluations is then measured by Pearson's r coefficient comparing two groups across stimulus words.

RELATEDNESS OF THEMES, CONCEPTS

How people relate things---e.g., birth control to imperialism or peace---is highly characteristic of their way of thinking, of their world view. The index of interword affinity (IIA) measures the relationship of one theme (A) to another (B) for a particular group. It is based on the relative weight of responses in common for the two themes under consideration. The formula for the affinity of theme A to B is as follows:

$$IIA_{A \rightarrow B} = \frac{\text{score for responses in common to A and B} + \text{score for direct elicitation (A-B)}}{\text{total score for theme A}} \times 1,000$$

AFFINITY RELATIONSHIP OF MOTIVATIONAL AND ECONOMIC THEMES FOR BLACK (B) AND WHITE (W) GROUPS

STIMULUS WORD A	Group	STIMULUS WORD B AND DIRECTION OF RELATIONSHIP							
		Goal	Expectation	Desire	Valuable	The rich	The poor	Unemployment	Prosperity
		A-B B-A	A-B B-A	A-B B-A	A-B B-A	A-B B-A	A-B B-A	A-B B-A	A-B B-A
Prosperity	W	163	216	182	111	134	214	167	358
	B	190	361	243	237	181	346	129	298
Unemployment	W	27	21	0	0	53	50	60	76
	B	117	110	161	88	82	94	87	124
The poor	W	66	46	23	8	146	123	97	110
	B	128	103	319	97	156	134	122	181
The rich	W	82	61	89	21	103	96	257	323
	B	134	108	193	80	200	194	208	375
Valuable	W	136	84	76	22	211	157		
	B	198	131	158	34	234	203		
Desire	W	220	182	330	113				
	B	132	110	203	87				
Expectation	W	89	237						
	B	97	224						

The matrix shows the relationship of eight themes from the motivational and economic domains. The generally higher indices for the Black group suggest a stronger relationship between motivational themes and economic matters. On the relationship of single themes, the table shows that the Black group sees a relationship between expectation and unemployment, which does not emerge from the White group.

The associative affinity index, a modified relatedness measure similar to those reviewed by Marshall and Cofer (1963), was developed for use with continued associations. The reliability of this index in split-half comparisons was in the range of .90 (Szalay and Windle, 1968). In a recent comparative study (Szalay and Bryson, 1972), the validity of this measure was estimated based on the correlations of this measure with other independent measures; similarity judgment .73; judgment of relationship .77; grouping task .84. The calculations were based on 66 index pairs.

More information on the affinity measure can be obtained in Communication Lexicon on Three South Korean Audiences (L.B. Szalay, W.T. Moon, and J.A. Bryson, American Institutes for Research, Kensington, Md., 1971) and in "Psychological Meaning: Comparative Analyses and Theoretical Implications" (L.B. Szalay and J.A. Bryson, Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 1974, 30:6, 860-870).

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